

# Tales of a Grandfather

## *Second Series*

By

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*Abridged and Edited for Schools by*

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1914

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

"O great and gallant Scott,  
True gentleman, heart, blood and bone,  
I would it had been my lot  
To have seen thee, and heard thee, and known."

TENNYSON.

Boys and girls who learn to know and love Walter Scott secure a friend and comrade who will give them countless hours of happiness, and who cannot be taken from them by any of the chances and changes of this mortal life. Learn to know him first from his novels and poems, and the day will come when his biography in its many volumes, his Journal, and his Letters, will seem all too short, because he himself is the most delightful of human companions, of whose society it is impossible to have too much.

Walter Scott was the son of an Edinburgh lawyer, and was born in that city in 1771. He belonged by descent to a Border clan, and counted many bold raiders and moss-troopers in his ancestry.

A severe illness at the age of eighteen months, from the effects of which he was lame all his life, made it advisable that he should live in the country, and the child was sent to his grandfather's house at Sandy Knowe, in Roxburghshire, near the ruined tower of Smaulholme, the scene of one of his earliest ballads. Here he lived some years, and used to spend the fine weather lying on the hillside wrapped in a sheepskin, under charge of the shepherd, listening to the old man's tales of the countryside. Thus, at this early age, he began to fill his mind with that wealth of tradition to

which he was afterwards to give renewed life in the creations of his imagination.

His surroundings in Edinburgh also favoured this interest in the past. Among his father's clients were gentlemen who had lost liberty and property, and almost life itself, in the Jacobite rising of 1745. His mother, who lived to a great age, was a perfect storehouse of old family legend, and the very stones of the ancient city that was his home spoke to him of Montrose and Argyle, of Claverhouse and Prince Charlie.

When he was considered strong enough Scott was sent to the Edinburgh High School, and though he made no great figure in the routine work of his classes, he attracted the attention of some of the masters by his enormous store of miscellaneous reading, and his power of following and enjoying the meaning of a Latin author, though behind many of his classmates in knowledge of the language. His own private studies must have gone on vigorously, for he acquired enough French to read collections of Old French romances, enough Italian to read Ariosto, and began that thorough study of Scotch history and antiquities that may be said to have ended only with his life. With his schoolfellows he soon acquired a reputation for story-telling that drew them round him like flies round a honey-pot, and in spite of his lameness he was in the thick of all the "bickers" or street fights with the boys of the town, and was never left behind in the popular feat of climbing a difficult part of the Castle rock.

On leaving school he entered his father's office, attended the law classes of the University, and finally was called to the bar.

In his earliest college days he began to make what he called "raids" into the Border country to carry off, not cattle, like his forefathers, but old ballads. He took them down from the lips of old men and women as they had received them from a still earlier generation, and a collection of these

ballads, carefully edited, was published in 1802 under the title of the *Border Minstrelsy*. From this time he gradually became more and more absorbed in literature, and ceased to practise as an advocate, though he held two legal appointments.

His first poem of any length, the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, appeared in 1805, and was followed by *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake*, each more successful than its predecessor. After the appearance of *Rokeby* it seemed to Scott that the interest in his poetry was beginning to flag, for, as he put it, Lord Byron "bet" him at poetry. He turned therefore, in 1814, to a prose romance begun some years before, finished it in three weeks, and published it anonymously under the title of *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*. Its success astonished Scott, and from that time story after story by the "Author of Waverley" held the public spellbound, and Scott's stock of traditionary and historic lore was turned to account in *Guy Mannering*, *Rob Roy*, the *Antiquary*, and many more. The secret of the authorship soon became an open one to all Scott's friends, but he did not publicly avow it till near the end of his literary career.

Scott's life for many years was one of unbroken prosperity. His duties as one of the Clerks of Session kept him about half the year in Edinburgh, while as Sheriff of Selkirkshire he was obliged to reside part of his time in that county. His life even in town was a singularly happy one, but in his country home at Abbotsford, with his children, his old friends, his dogs and his tree-planting, he evidently enjoyed every moment of his day. His fame attracted to him distinguished visitors from all parts of the world, but his own genial nature gained him a friend in the humblest man or woman who came into contact with him,—nay, even animals, not his own dogs and cats only, but comparative strangers, such as pigs and donkeys, followed him with an affection that must sometimes have been embarrassing, but which was never roughly repulsed. If the world knew no more

of Scott than this part of his life-story it would still owe him a deep debt of gratitude.

But adversity came, and the record of the brave, honourable, humorous spirit in which Scott faced it is as great a gift to us as even his novels and poems. During a commercial crisis in 1825 a printing and publishing house in which Scott was a partner failed for £117,000. There was little hope for the creditors had the partners been declared bankrupt, but Scott, determined that no man, if he could help it, should be a loser through him, asked for no favour but time to work, and heroically set himself to discharge the whole debt with his pen. In eighteen months he had earned by *Woodstock* and his *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* nearly £40,000, and had his health lasted there is no doubt he would have discharged the obligations in full. In spite of pain and weakness he toiled on to the end, and at his death in 1832 the great debt was more than half cleared, and it was finally extinguished in 1847 through the value of the copyrights he had left behind him.

The book from which these extracts are taken was written during the very worst of Scott's troubles. He had just finished the *Life of Napoleon* when he records in his Journal, "A good thought came in my head to write Stories for little Johnnie Lockhart, from the History of Scotland . . . I will make, if possible, a book a child shall understand, yet a man will feel some temptation to peruse should he chance to take it up."

Johnnie Lockhart was a delicate child who died before his grandfather, but in the summer of 1827 he was sufficiently strong to mount his pony, and the old man and the little boy ambled about the woods together, Scott telling the *Tales*, to see if they were suited to the comprehension of boyhood before reducing them to writing. They were perhaps only too suitable, for Johnnie stabbed his little brother—very feebly, probably, and fortunately with no serious results—with a pair of scissors, and issued the command that he was



to be told no more about Civilisation,—as he did not like it at all. A juvenile critic is always sincere and sometimes acute, and his preference for the chapters full of incident to those dealing with social progress is shared by his elders to this day.

The reception of these *Tales* was more enthusiastic than that of any of Scott's works since *Ivanhoe*, and they certainly have much in common with that popular novel,—breadth and vigour of narration, vivid portraiture, and what he himself called “a hurried frankness of composition, which pleases soldiers, sailors, and young people of bold and active disposition.” They are the outpouring of a full mind, and of a heart to which the past of his country was dear, and are permeated with that interest in human character, that sense of the oneness of human nature, that filled the Waverley novels with kings and queens, smugglers and gipsies, Highland chiefs and Border freebooters, all instinct with life, and as actual as the men and women we meet every day. Written for a real boy, whose delicate frame was tenanted by a spirit like his grandfather's own, the *Tales* are full of that air of chivalry, that breathless passing from adventure to adventure, that appeals to high-spirited lads all the world over. “A wild world, my masters,” says Scott, “must this Scotland of ours have been. No fear of want of interest, no lassitude for want of work,—

‘For treason, d’ye see,  
Was to them a dish of tea  
And murder bread and butter.’”

On such tea and bread and butter, strange to say, the mildest of us in this milder age love to feast, and the *Tales of a Grandfather* have made the past of Scotland a real and living thing to the descendants of those who fought on either side at Flodden and Bannockburn, many of whom have since fallen side by side on hard-fought battle-fields in distant lands.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(For Reference).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Accession of Charles I., 1625.                                    | Murder of Archbishop Sharp, 1678   |
| Laud's Service-Book ordered to be used in Scotland, 1637.         | Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, 1679.   |
| National Covenant signed, 1638.                                   | Accession of James II. and VII., 1685.   |
| Scottish Army enters England, 1639.                               | The Revolution, 1688.  |
| Long Parliament meets, 1640.                                      | William and Mary proclaimed in England and Scotland, 1689  |
| Civil War begins in England, 1642.                                | Battle of Killiecrankie, 1689.   |
| Solemn League and Covenant, 1643                                  | Accession of Anne, 1702.   |
| Royalist defeat at Naseby, 1645.                                  | Union of English and Scottish Parliaments, 1707.   |
| Battle of Philiphaugh, 1645.                                      | Peace of Utrecht, 1713.  |
| Charles takes refuge with the Scottish Army, 1646                 | Accession of George I., 1714.  |
| The Scottish army surrenders him to the English Parliament, 1647. | Battles of Sheriffmuir and Preston, 1715.  |
| Execution of Charles I., 1649.                                    | Accession of George II., 1727.   |
| Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland, 1650                          | Porteous riots in Edinburgh, 1733.   |
| Capture and execution of Montrose, 1650.                          | War of the Austrian Succession begins, 1744.   |
| Battle of Worcester and flight of Charles II., 1651.              | French victory at Fontenoy, 1745   |
| Restoration of Charles II., 1660.                                 | Landing of Charles Edward, Battle of Prestonpans, March into England and retreat from Derby, Battle of Falkirk, 1745 |
| Episcopacy restored in Scotland, 1662.                            | Battle of Culloden, 1746.  |
| Severe laws against Conventicles, 1672.                           |  |

## CHAPTER I.

### THE DEATH OF MONTROSE.

JAMES GRAHAM, Marquis of Montrose, belonged to the distinguished Scottish family of which John Graham of Claverhouse was also a member.

In 1637 Charles I. and Laud attempted to impose Episcopacy on Scotland, and Montrose was actively concerned in drawing up the National Covenant against it. He was a leader in the Scottish army that entered England in 1640, but he disapproved the extreme measures of the Parliamentary party, and in 1644, when the Royalist fortunes were at a low ebb, he offered his services to the 10 King. Entering Scotland in disguise, he succeeded in raising an army among the clans, and gained brilliant victories at Tippermuir, Inverlochy, and Kilsyth. His Highlanders slipped home after this last battle to secure their booty, and a few weeks later Montrose was hopelessly defeated by Lesley at Philiphaugh. After a vain attempt once more to rouse the Highlands he escaped to Holland, but returned to Scotland after the execution of Charles I., to serve the cause of his son.

THE death of Charles I. was nowhere more deeply 20 resented than in his native country of Scotland; and the national pride of the Scots was the more hurt, that they could not but be conscious that the surrender of his person by their army at Newcastle

was the event which contributed immediately to place him in the hands of his enemies.

The government, since 1648, had continued in the hands of Argyle and the more rigid Presbyterians; but even they, no friends to the House of Stewart, were bound by the Covenant, which was their rule in all things, to acknowledge the hereditary descent of their ancient Kings, and call to the throne Charles, the eldest son of the deceased monarch, provided he would consent to unite with his subjects in taking the Solemn League and Covenant, for the support of Presbytery, and the putting down of all other forms of religion. The Scottish Parliament met, and resolved accordingly to proclaim Charles II. their lawful sovereign; but, at the same time, not to admit him to the actual power as such, until he should give security for the religion, unity, and peace of the kingdoms. Commissioners were sent to wait upon Charles, who had retired to the Continent, in order to offer him the throne of Scotland on these terms.

The young Prince had already around him counsellors of a different character. The Marquis of Montrose, and other Scottish nobles, advised him to reject the proposal of the Presbyterians to recall him to the regal dignity on such conditions, and offered their swords and lives to place him on the throne by force of arms.

It appears that Charles II., who never had any deep sense of integrity, was willing to treat with both of these parties at one and the same time.

and that he granted a commission to the Marquis to attempt a descent on Scotland, taking the chance of what might be accomplished by his far-famed fortune and dauntless enterprise, while he kept a negotiation afloat with the Presbyterian commissioners, in case of Montrose's failure.

That intrepid but rash enthusiast embarked at Hamburg, with some arms and treasure supplied by the northern courts of Europe. His fame drew around him a few of the emigrant Royalists, chiefly 10 Scottish, and he recruited about six hundred German mercenaries. His first descent was on the Orkney islands, where he forced to arms a few hundreds of unwarlike fishermen. He next disembarked on the mainland; but the natives fled from him, remembering the former excesses of his army. Strachan, an officer under Lesley, came upon the Marquis by surprise, near a pass called Invercharron, on the confines of Ross-shire. The Orkney men made but little resistance: the Germans retired to a wood, 20 and there surrendered; the few Scottish companions of Montrose fought bravely, but in vain. Many gallant cavaliers were made prisoners. Montrose, when the day was irretrievably lost, threw off his cloak bearing the star, and afterwards changed clothes with an ordinary Highland kern, that he might endeavour to effect his escape, and swam across the river Kyle. Exhausted with fatigue and hunger, he was at length taken by a Ross-shire chief, MacLeod of Assint, who happened to be out 30 with a party of his men in arms. The Marquis

discovered himself to this man, thinking himself secure of favour, since Assint had been once his own follower. But, tempted by a reward of four hundred bolls of meal, this wretched chief delivered his old commander into the unfriendly hands of David Lesley.

The Covenanters, when he who had so often made them tremble was at length delivered into their hands, celebrated their victory with all the  
10 exultation of mean, timid, and sullen spirits, suddenly released from apprehension of imminent danger. Montrose was dragged in a sort of triumph from town to town, in the mean garb in which he had disguised himself for flight.

Before he reached Edinburgh, he had been condemned by the Parliament to the death of a traitor. The sentence was pronounced, without further trial, upon an act of attainder passed while he was plundering Argyle in the winter of 1644; and it was  
20 studiously aggravated by every species of infamy.

The Marquis was, according to the special order of Parliament, met at the gates by the magistrates, attended by the common hangman, who was clad for the time in his own livery. He was appointed, as the most infamous mode of execution, to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on the tolbooth or prison of Edinburgh, his body to be quartered, and his limbs to be placed over the gates of the principal towns of Scotland.  
30 According to the sentence, he was conducted to jail on a cart, whereon was fixed a high bench, on which

he was placed, bound and bareheaded, the horse led by the executioner, wearing his bonnet, and the noble prisoner exposed to the scorn of the people, who were expected to hoot and revile him. But the rabble, who came out with the rudest purposes, relented when they saw the dignity of his bearing; and silence, accompanied by the sighs and tears of the crowd, attended the progress, which his enemies had designed should excite other emotions.

He was next brought before the Parliament to 10 hear the terms of his sentence, where he appeared with the same manly indifference. He gazed around on his assembled enemies with as much composure as the most unconcerned spectator; heard Loudon, the chancellor, upbraid him, in a long and violent declamation, with the breach of both the first and second Covenant; with his cruel wars at the head of the savage Irish and Highlandmen; and with the murders, treasons, and conflagrations, which they had occasioned. When the chancellor had finished, 20 Montrose with difficulty obtained permission to reply.

He told the Parliament, with his usual boldness, that if he appeared before them uncovered, and addressed them with respect, it was only because the King had acknowledged their assembly, by entering into a treaty with them. He admitted he had taken the first, or National Covenant, and had acted upon it so long as it was confined to its proper purposes, but had dissented from and opposed those 30 who had used it as a pretext for assailing the Royal

authority. "The second, or Solemn League and Covenant," he said, "he had never taken, and was therefore in no respect bound by it. He had made war by the King's express commission; and although it was impossible, in the course of hostilities, absolutely to prevent acts of military violence, he had always disowned and punished such irregularities. He had never," he said, "spilt the blood of a prisoner, even in retaliation of the cold-blooded  
10 murder of his officers and friends—nay, he had spared the lives of thousands in the very shock of battle. His last undertaking," he continued, "was carried on at the express command of Charles II., whom they had proclaimed their sovereign, and with whom they were treating as such. Therefore, he desired to be used by them as a man and a Christian, to whom many of them had been indebted for life and property, when the fate of war had placed both in his power. He required them, in conclu-  
20 sion, to proceed with him according to the laws of nature and nations, but especially according to those of Scotland, as they themselves would expect to be judged when they stood at the bar of Almighty God."

The sentence already mentioned was then read to the undaunted prisoner, on which he observed, he was more honoured in having his head set on the prison, for the cause in which he died, than he would have been had they decreed a golden statue to be  
30 erected to him in the market-place, or in having his picture in the King's bedchamber. As to the dis-



tribution of his limbs, he said he wished he had flesh enough to send some to each city of Europe, in memory of the cause in which he died. He spent the night in reducing these ideas into poetry.

Early on the morning of the next day he was awakened by the drums and trumpets calling out the guards, by orders of Parliament, to attend on his execution. "Alas!" he said, "I have given these good folks much trouble while alive, and do I continue to be a terror to them on the day I am to die?"

The clergy importuned him, urging repentance of his sins, and offering, on his expressing such compunction, to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication, under which he laboured. He calmly replied, that though the excommunication had been rashly pronounced, yet it gave him pain, and he desired to be freed from it, if a relaxation could be obtained, by expressing penitence for his offences as a man; but that he had committed none in his duty to his prince and country, and, therefore, had none to acknowledge or repent of.

Johnstone of Warriston, an eminent Covenanter, intruded himself on the noble prisoner, while he was combing the long curled hair which he wore as a cavalier. Warriston, a gloomy fanatic, hinted as if it were but an idle employment at so solemn a time. "I will arrange my head as I please to-day, while it is still my own," answered Montrose; "to-morrow it will be yours, and you may deal with it as you list."

The Marquis walked on foot, from the prison to the Grassmarket, the common place of execution, for the basest felons, where a gibbet of extraordinary height, with a scaffold covered with black cloth, was erected. Here he was again pressed by the Presbyterian clergy to own his guilt. Their cruel and illiberal officiousness could not disturb the serenity of his temper. To exaggerate the infamy of his punishment, or rather to show the mean spite  
10 of his enemies, a book, containing the printed history of his exploits, was hung around his neck by the hangman. This insult, likewise, he treated with contempt, saying, he accounted such a record of his services to his prince as a symbol equally honourable with the badge of the Garter, which the King had bestowed on him. In all other particulars, Montrose bore himself with the same calm dignity, and finally submitted to execution with such resolved courage, that many, even of his bitterest  
20 enemies, wept on the occasion. He suffered on the 21st of May, 1650.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE COVENANTERS.

ON the restoration of Charles II. the Presbyterian form of Church government was abolished in Scotland, and Episcopacy substituted. Many of the people, therefore, absented themselves from their parish churches to worship in private assemblies, known as conventicles. Church courts were established to enforce uniformity of worship, and conventicles were forbidden under severe penalties.

The harshness with which these were inflicted brought about the Pentland Rising in 1666. The insurgents, for the most part peasants, were totally defeated at Rullion Green. 10 Twenty prisoners were executed at Edinburgh, many were put to the torture, and the Government made determined efforts to put down conventicles all over the country.

WHEN the custom of holding field conventicles was adopted it had the effect of raising the minds of those who frequented them to a higher and more exalted pitch of enthusiasm. The aged and more timid could hardly engage on distant expeditions into the wild mountainous districts and the barren moors, and the greater part of those who attended 20 divine worship on such occasions were robust of body and bold of spirit, or at least men whose deficiency of strength and courage were more than

supplied by religious zeal. The view of the rocks and hills around them, while a sight so unusual gave solemnity to their acts of devotion, encouraged them in the natural thought of defending themselves against oppression, amidst the fortresses of nature's own construction, to which they had repaired to worship the God of nature, according to the mode their education dictated and their conscience acknowledged. The recollection, that in these  
10 fastnesses their fathers had often found a safe retreat from foreign invaders must have encouraged their natural confidence, and it was confirmed by the success with which a stand was sometimes made against small bodies of troops, who were occasionally repulsed by the sturdy Whigs whom they attempted to disperse. In most cases of this kind they behaved with moderation, inflicting no further penalty upon such prisoners as might fall into their hands than detaining them to enjoy the  
20 benefit of a long sermon.

On the whole, the idea of repelling force by force, and defending themselves against the attacks of the soldiers, and others who assaulted them, when employed in divine worship, began to become more general among the harassed nonconformists. For this purpose many of the congregation assembled in arms. Trusty sentinels were placed on advanced posts all around, so as to command a view of the country below, and give the earliest notice  
30 of the approach of any unfriendly party. The clergyman occupied an elevated temporary pulpit,

with his back to the wind. There were few or no males of any quality or distinction, for such persons could not escape detection, and were liable to ruin from the consequences. But many women of good condition, and holding the rank of ladies, ventured to attend the forbidden meeting, and were allowed to sit in front of the assembly. Their side-saddles were placed on the ground to serve for seats, and their horses were *tethered*, or piqueted, in the rear of the congregation. Before the females, and in 10 the interval which divided them from the tent, or temporary pulpit, the arms of the men present, pikes, swords, and muskets, were regularly piled in such order as is used by soldiers, so that each man might in an instant assume his own weapons. When scenes of such a kind were repeatedly to be seen in different parts of the country, and while the Government relaxed none of that rigour which had thrown the nation into such a state, it was clear that a civil war could not be far distant, and 20 in the autumn of 1666 the disaffection culminated in the Pentland Rising.

The vengeance taken for this outbreak was not confined to those actually concerned in it. Lauderdale raked up out of oblivion the old and barbarous laws which had been adopted in the fiercest times, and directed them against the nonconformists, especially those who attended the field conventicles. One of those laws inflicted the highest penalties upon persons who were intercommuned, as it was 30 called—that is, outlawed by legal sentence. The

nearest relations were prohibited from assisting each other, the wife the husband, the brother the brother, and the parent the son, if the sufferers had been intercommuned. The Government of this cruel time applied these ancient and barbarous statutes to the outlawed Presbyterians of the period, and thus drove them altogether from human society. In danger, want, and necessity, the inhabitants of the wilderness, and expelled from civil intercourse, 10 it is no wonder that we find many of these wanderers avowing principles and doctrines hostile to the Government which oppressed them, and carrying their resistance beyond the bounds of mere self-defence.

Superstitious notions, also, the natural consequences of an uncertain, melancholy, and solitary life among the desolate glens and mountains, mingled with the intense enthusiasm of this persecuted sect. Their occasional successes over their 20 oppressors, and their frequent escapes from the pursuit of the soldiery, when the marksmen missed their aim, or when a sudden mist concealed the fugitives, were imputed, not to the operation of those natural causes by means of which the Deity is pleased to govern the world, but to the direct interposition of a miraculous agency, overruling and suspending the laws of nature. Especially the scattered Covenanters believed firmly, that their chief persecutors received from the Evil Spirit a 30 proof against leaden bullets—a charm, that is, to prevent their being pierced or wounded by them.

There were many supposed to be gifted with this necromantic privilege, but to John Graham of Claverhouse, a Scottish officer of high rank, who began to distinguish himself as a severe executor of the orders of the Privy Council against nonconformists, the Evil Spirit was supposed to have been still more liberal than to others. He not only obtained proof against lead, but the devil is said to have presented him with a black horse, which had not a single white hair upon its body. On this 10 animal Claverhouse was supposed to perform the most unwonted feats of agility, flying almost like a bird along the sides of precipitous hills, and through pathless morasses, where an ordinary horse must have been smothered or dashed to pieces. It is even yet believed, that mounted on this steed, Claverhouse (or Clavers, as he is popularly called) once turned a hare on the mountain named the Brandlaw, at the head of Moffatdale, where no other horse could have kept its feet. But these 20 exertions were usually made whilst he was in pursuit of the Wanderers, which was considered as Satan's own peculiar pleasing work.

The peculiar character and prejudices of the Covenanters are easily accounted for. Yet when it is considered that so many Scottish subjects were involved in the snares of these cruel laws, and liable to be prosecuted under them (the number is said to have reached eighteen or twenty thousand persons), it may seem wonderful that the Govern- 30 ment could find a party in the kingdom to approve

of and help forward measures as impolitic as they were cruel. But, besides the great command which the very worst government must always possess over those who look for advancement and employment under it, these things, it must be considered, took place shortly after the Royalists, the prevalent party at that time, had been themselves subjected to proscription, exile, judicial executions, and general massacre. The fate of Montrose and his followers, 10 the massacres of Dunnavertie and Philiphaugh, above all, the murder of King Charles, had taken place during the predominance of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and were imputed, however unjustly, to their religious principles, which were believed by the Cavaliers to be inconsistent with law, loyalty, and good order. Under such mistaken sentiments, many of the late Royalist party lent their arms, eagerly to suppress the adherents of a sect, to the pre-eminence of which they traced the general 20 misery of the civil wars, and their own peculiar misfortunes.

An event now occurred, one of the most remarkable of the time, which had a great effect upon public affairs and the general feeling of the nation. This was the murder of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland. This person, having been the agent of the Presbyterians at the time of the Restoration, had, as was generally thought, betrayed his constituents, at least, he had 30 certainly changed his principles, and accepted the highest office in the new Episcopal establishment.



It may be well supposed that a person so much hated as he was, from his desertion of the old cause and violence in the new, was the object of general hostility, and that, amongst a sect so enthusiastic as the nonconformists, some one should be found to exercise judgment upon him—in other words, to take his life.

This violent and wicked deed, committed by blinded and desperate men, brought much scandal on the Presbyterians, though unjustly, for the 10 moderate persons of that persuasion, comprehending the most numerous and by far the most respectable of the body, disowned so cruel an action, although they might be at the same time of opinion that the Archbishop, who had been the cause of violent death to many, merited some such termination to his own existence. He had some virtues, being learned, temperate, and living a life becoming his station; but his illiberal and intolerant principles, and the violences which he committed to enforce 20 them, were the cause of great distress to Scotland, and of his own premature and bloody end.

The Scottish Government, which the Archbishop's death had alarmed and irritated in the highest degree, used the utmost exertions to apprehend his murderers, and failing that, to disperse and subdue, by an extremity of violence greater than what had been hitherto employed, every assembly of armed Covenanters. All attendance upon field conventicles was declared treason; new troops were 30 raised, and the strictest orders sent to the com-

manding officers to act against nonconformists with the utmost rigour. On the other hand, the inter-communed persons, now grown desperate, assembled in more numerous and better armed parties, and many of them showed a general purpose of defiance and rebellion against the King's authority. These circumstances soon led to a crisis.

Several of the murderers of the Archbishop of St. Andrews found their way, through great dangers, 10 to the west of Scotland, and brought matters to extremity by a public defiance of the authorities, at Rutherglen.

John Graham of Claverhouse was now lying in garrison at Glasgow, and on the 1st of June he drew out his own troop of dragoons, with such other cavalry as he could hastily add to it, and set off in quest of the insurgents.

In the town of Hamilton he made prisoner John King, a preacher, and with him seventeen country- 20 men who were attending on his ministry; and hearing of a larger assembly of insurgents who were at Loudon Hill, a short distance off, he pushed forward to that place. Here Claverhouse was opposed by a large body in point of numbers, but very indifferently armed, though there were about fifty horse tolerably appointed, as many infantry with guns, and a number of men armed with scythes, forks, pikes, and halberds. The immediate spot on which the parties met was called Drumclog. It is 30 a boggy piece of ground, unfit for the acting of cavalry, and a broad drain, or ditch, seems also to

have given the insurgents considerable advantage. A short but warm engagement ensued, during which Balfour crossed the ditch boldly, and outflanking the dragoons, compelled them to fly. About thirty of the defeated party were slain, or died of their wounds. An officer of the name of Graham, a kinsman of Claverhouse, was among the slain. His body, mistaken, it is reported, for that of his namesake, was pitifully mangled. Claverhouse's own horse was laid open by the blow of a scythe, and 10 was scarcely able to bear him off the field of battle. Some Royalist prisoners were taken, to whom quarter was given, and they were dismissed. The insurgents lost only five or six men, one of whom, named Dingwall, had assisted at the murder of the Archbishop.

After having gained this victory, the insurgents resolved to keep the field, and take such future fortune as Heaven should send them. They marched to Hamilton after the action, and the next day, 20 strongly reinforced by the numbers which joined them on all sides, they proceeded to attack the town of Glasgow.

When the news of the insurrection reached London, Charles II. employing for a season his own good judgment, which he too often yielded to the management of others, seems to have formed an idea of conciliating the rebels, as well as of subduing them. For this purpose, he sent to Scotland, as commander-in-chief, his natural son, James, Duke of Monmouth, 30 at the head of a large body of the Royal guards.

Wealthy, popular, and his father's favourite, the Duke of Monmouth had been encouraged to oppose his own court influence to that of the King's brother, the Duke of York; and as the latter had declared himself a Roman Catholic, so Monmouth, to mark the distinction betwixt them, was supposed to be favourable to Presbyterians, as well as dissenters of any sect, and was popularly called the Protestant Duke. It was naturally supposed that, having such  
10 inclinations, he was entrusted with some powers favourable to the insurgents.

These unfortunate persons having spent a great deal of time in debating on Church polemics, lost sight of the necessity of disciplining their army, or supplying it with provisions, and were still lying in the vicinity of the town of Hamilton, while numbers, despairing of their success, were every day deserting them. On the 21st of June they were alarmed by the intelligence that the Duke of Monmouth was  
20 advancing at the head of a well-disciplined army. This did not recall them to their senses; they held a council, indeed, but it was only to engage in a furious debate, which ended in the withdrawal of the extremists.

The moderate party, thus left to themselves, drew up a supplication to the Duke, and after describing their intolerable grievances, declared that they were willing to submit all controversies to a free Parliament, and a free assembly of the Church.  
30 The Duke, in reply, expressed compassion for their condition, and a wish to alleviate it by his

intercession with the King, but declared they must in the interim lay down their arms. When they received this message, the insurgent troops were in the greatest disorder, the violent party having chosen this unfortunate moment for cashiering the officers whom they had formerly appointed, and nominating others. While they were thus employed, the troops of Monmouth appeared in sight.

The insurgents were well posted for defence. They had in front the Clyde, a deep river, not easily 10 fordable, and only to be crossed by Bothwell Bridge, which gives name to the battle. This is a high, steep, and narrow bridge, having a portal, or gateway, in the centre, which the insurgents had shut and barricaded. About three hundred men were stationed to defend this important pass, under Rathillet, Balfour, and others. They behaved well, and made a stout defence, till the soldiers of Monmouth forced the pass at the point of the bayonet. The insurgents then gave way, and the Royal army 20 advanced towards the main body, who, according to the historian Burnet, seem neither to have had the grace to submit, the courage to fight, nor the sense to run away. They stood a few minutes in doubt and confusion, their native courage and enthusiasm frozen by the sense of discord amongst themselves, and the sudden approach of an army superior in discipline. At length, as the artillery began to play upon them, and the horse and Highlanders were about to charge, they gave way without resistance, 30 and dispersed like a flock of sheep.

The gentle-tempered Duke of Monmouth gave strict orders to afford quarter to all who asked it, and to make prisoners, but spare lives. Considerable slaughter, it is said, took place, notwithstanding his orders, partly owing to the unrelenting temper of Claverhouse, who was burning to obtain vengeance for the defeat of Drumclog, and the death of his kinsman, who was slain there, and partly to the fury of the English soldiers and the Scottish  
10 Highlanders, who distinguished themselves by their cruelty.

Four hundred men were killed at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and about twelve hundred made prisoners. These last were marched to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, like cattle in a pen-fold, while several ministers and others were selected for execution. The rest, after long confinement there, and without any shelter save two or three miserable sheds, and such as they  
20 found in the tombs, were dismissed, upon giving bonds for conformity in future; the more obstinate were sent as slaves to the plantations. Many of the last were lost at sea. And yet, notwithstanding these disasters, the more remote consequences of the battle of Bothwell Bridge were even more calamitous than those which were direct and immediate.

The mild influence of Monmouth in the administration of Scotland lasted but a short while, and persecution, long and unsparingly exercised, drove a  
30 part of an oppressed peasantry into wild and perilous doctrines; dangerous, if acted upon, not only to

the existing tyranny, but to any other form of government, how moderate soever.

All usual forms of law, all the bulwarks by which the subjects of a country are protected against the violence of armed power, were at once broken down, and officers and soldiers received commissions not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and punish, any persons whom they might suspect of fanatical principles, and if they thought proper, they might put them to death upon the spot. All that was 10 necessary to condemnation was, that the individuals seized upon should scruple to renounce the Covenant—or should hesitate to admit that the death of Sharp was an act of murder—or should refuse to pray for the King—or decline to answer any other ensnaring or captious questions concerning their religious principles.

A scene of this kind is told with great simplicity and effect by one of the writers of the period; and I am truly sorry that Claverhouse, whom, at the 20 time of the Revolution, we shall find acting a heroic part, was a principal agent in this act of cruelty.

There lived at this gloomy period, at a place called Preshill, or Priesthill, in Lanarkshire, a man named John Brown, a carrier by profession, and called, from his zealous religious principles, the Christian Carrier. This person had been out with the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, and was for other reasons amenable to the cruelty of the existing laws. On a morning of May 1685 Peden, one of the 30 Cameronian ministers, whom Brown had sheltered

in his house, took his leave of his host and his wife, repeating twice,—“Poor woman! a fearful morning—a dark and misty morning!”—words which were afterwards believed to be prophetic of calamity. When Peden was gone, Brown left his house with a spade in his hand for his ordinary labour, when he was suddenly surrounded and arrested by a band of horse, with Claverhouse at their head. Although the prisoner had a hesitation in his speech on ordinary occasions, he answered the questions which were put to him in this extremity with such composure and firmness, that Claverhouse asked whether he was a preacher. He was answered in the negative. “If he has not preached,” said Claverhouse, “mickle hath he prayed in his time.—But betake you now to your prayers for the last time, for you shall presently die.” The poor man kneeled down and prayed with zeal; and when he was touching on the political state of the country, and praying that Heaven would spare a remnant, Claverhouse, interrupting him, said, “I gave you leave to pray, and you are preaching.”—“Sir,” answered the prisoner, turning towards his judge on his knees, “you know nothing either of preaching or praying, if you call what I now say preaching:”—then continued without confusion. When his devotions were ended, Claverhouse commanded him to bid good-night to his wife and children. Brown turned towards them, and, taking his wife by the hand, told her that the hour was come which he had spoken of, when he first asked her consent to marry him. The



poor woman answered firmly,—“In this cause I am willing to resign you.”—“Then have I nothing to do save to die,” he replied; “and I thank God I have been in a frame to meet death for many years.” He was shot dead by a party of soldiers at the end of his own house; and although his wife was of a nervous habit, and used to become sick at the sight of blood, she had on this occasion strength enough to support the dreadful scene without fainting or confusion, only her eyes dazzled when the carabines 10 were fired. While her husband's dead body lay stretched before him, Claverhouse asked her what she thought of her husband now. “I ever thought much of him,” she replied, “and now more than ever.”—“It were but justice,” said Claverhouse, “to lay thee beside him.”—“I doubt not,” she replied, “that if you were permitted, your cruelty would carry you that length. But how will you answer for this morning's work?”—“To man I can be answerable,” said Claverhouse, “and Heaven I will 20 take in my own hand.” He then mounted his horse and marched, and left her with the corpse of her husband lying beside her, and her fatherless infant in her arms. “She placed the child on the ground,” says the narrative with scriptural simplicity, “tied up the corpse's head, and straightened the limbs, and covered him with her plaid, and sat down and wept over him.”

## CHAPTER III.

### KILLIECRANKIE.

AFTER the Revolution of 1688 a Convention of the Scottish Estates assembled in Edinburgh to decide upon the course to be taken by Scotland.

Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, was prominent among the partisans of the exiled King, and after trying in vain to induce the Duke of Gordon, who held the castle, to fire upon the town and disperse the Convention, he rode off towards Stirling at the head of a small band of followers, and raised the standard of King James.

- 10 The Convention then declared James to have forfeited the crown, and proceeded to settle it upon William and Mary.

Dundee soon gathered an irregular Highland army, and for some time avoided a pitched battle with MacKay, the general of William. In June 1689, however, he heard that MacKay was marching to besiege Blair Castle, a fortress held for King James.

- 20 DUNDEE resolved to preserve the castle of Blair, so important as a key to the Northern Highlands, and marched to protect it with a body of about two thousand Highlanders, with whom he occupied the upper and northern extremity of the pass between Dunkeld and Blair.

In this celebrated defile, called the Pass of Killiecrankie, the road runs for several miles along the

banks of a furious river, called the Garry, which rages below, amongst cataracts and waterfalls which the eye can scarcely discern, while a series of precipices and wooded mountains rise on the other hand.

A defile of such difficulty was capable of being defended to the last extremity by a small number against a considerable army; and considering how well adapted his followers were for such mountain warfare, many of the Highland chiefs were of opinion that Dundee ought to content himself with guarding <sup>10</sup> the pass against MacKay's superior army, until a rendezvous, which they had appointed, should assemble a stronger force of their countrymen. But Dundee was of a different opinion, and resolved to suffer MacKay to march through the pass without opposition, and then to fight him in the open valley, at the northern extremity. He chose this bold measure, both because it promised a decisive result to the combat which his ardent temper desired; and also because he preferred fighting MacKay before <sup>20</sup> that General was joined by a considerable body of English horse who were expected, and of whom the Highlanders had at that time some dread.

On the 17th June, 1689, General MacKay with his troops entered the pass, which, to their astonishment, they found unoccupied by the enemy. His forces were partly English and Dutch regiments, who, with many of the Lowland Scots themselves, were struck with awe, and even fear, at finding themselves introduced by such a magnificent, and, <sup>30</sup> at the same time, formidable avenue, to the presence

of their enemies, the inhabitants of these tremendous mountains, into whose recesses they were penetrating. But besides the effect produced on their minds by the magnificence of natural scenery, to which they were wholly unaccustomed, the consideration must have hung heavy on them, that if a general of Dundee's talents suffered them to march unopposed through a pass so difficult, it must be because he was conscious of possessing strength sufficient to  
10 attack and destroy them at the farther extremity, when their only retreat would lie through the narrow and perilous path by which they were now advancing.

Mid-day was past ere MacKay's men were extricated from the defile, when their general drew them up in one line three deep, without any reserve, along the southern extremity of the narrow valley into which the pass opens. A hill on the north side of the valley, covered with dwarf trees and bushes, formed the position of Dundee's army, which, divided  
20 into columns, formed by the different clans, was greatly outflanked by MacKay's troops.

The armies shouted when they came in sight of each other, but the enthusiasm of MacKay's soldiers being damped by the circumstances we have observed, their military shout made but a dull and sullen sound compared to the yell of the Highlanders, which rang far and shrill from all the hills around them. Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel called on those around them to attend to this circumstance, saying  
30 that in all his battles he observed victory had ever been on the side of those whose shout before joining

seemed most sprightly and confident. It was accounted a less favourable augury by some of the old Highlanders, that Dundee at this moment, to render his person less distinguishable, put on a sad-coloured buff-coat above the scarlet cassock and bright cuirass, in which he had hitherto appeared.

It was some time ere Dundee had completed his preparations for the assault which he meditated, and only a few dropping shots were exchanged, while, in order to prevent the risk of being outflanked, he 10 increased the intervals between the columns with which he designed to charge, insomuch that he had scarce men enough left in the centre. About an hour before sunset, he sent word to MacKay that he was about to attack him, and gave the signal to charge.

The Highlanders stripped themselves to their shirts and doublets, threw away everything that could impede the fury of their onset, and then put themselves in motion, accompanying with a dreadful 20 yell the discordant sound of their war-pipes. As they advanced, the clansmen fired their pieces, each column thus pouring in a well-aimed though irregular volley, when throwing down their fusees, without waiting to reload, they drew their swords, and, increasing their pace to the utmost speed, pierced through and broke the thin line which was opposed to them, and profited by their superior activity and the nature of their weapons to make a great havoc among the regular troops. When thus mingled 30 with each other, hand to hand, the advantages of

superior discipline on the part of the Lowland soldier were lost. Agility and strength were on the side of the mountaineers. Some accounts of the battle give a terrific account of the blows struck by the Highlanders, which cleft heads down to the breast, cut steel headpieces asunder as night-caps, and slashed through pikes like willows. Two of MacKay's English regiments in the centre stood fast, the interval between the attacking columns being so  
10 great that none were placed opposite to them. The rest of King William's army were totally routed and driven headlong into the river.

Dundee himself, contrary to the advice of the Highland chiefs, was in front of the battle, and fatally conspicuous. By a desperate attack he possessed himself of MacKay's artillery, and then led his handful of cavalry, about fifty men, against two troops of horse, which fled without fighting. Observing the stand made by the two English regi-  
20 ments already mentioned, he galloped towards the clan of MacDonald, and was in the act of bringing them to the charge, with his right arm elevated, as if pointing the way to victory, when he was struck by a bullet beneath the arm-pit, where he was unprotected by his cuirass. He tried to ride on, but being unable to keep the saddle, fell mortally wounded, and died in the course of the night.

It was impossible for a victory to be more complete than that gained by the Highlanders at  
30 Killiecrankie. The cannon, baggage, and stores of MacKay's army fell into their hands. The two

regiments which kept their ground suffered so much in their attempt to retreat through the pass, now occupied by the Athole-men in their rear, that they might be considered as destroyed. Two thousand of MacKay's army were killed or taken, and the general himself escaped with difficulty to Stirling, at the head of a few horse. The Highlanders, whose dense columns, as they came down to the attack, underwent three successive volleys from MacKay's line, had eight hundred men slain. 10

But all other losses were unimportant compared to that of Dundee, with whom were forfeited all the fruits of that bloody victory. MacKay, when he found himself free from pursuit, declared his conviction that his opponent had fallen in the battle. And such was the opinion of Dundee's talents and courage, and the general sense of the peculiar crisis at which his death took place, that the common people of the low country cannot, even now, be persuaded that he died an ordinary death. They say 20 that a servant of his own, shocked at the severities which, if triumphant, his master was likely to accomplish against the Presbyterians, and giving way to the popular prejudice of his having a charm against the effect of lead balls, shot him, in the tumult of the battle, with a silver button taken from his livery coat. The Jacobites, and the Episcopal party, on the other hand, lamented the deceased victor as the last of the Scots, the last of the Grahams, and the last of all that was great in his 30 native country.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1715. THE BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR. THE CHEVALIER JAMES IN SCOTLAND.

THE Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments, which took place in 1707, was for some years most unpopular in Scotland, and the partisans of the exiled Stewart family turned this general discontent to the advantage of their cause.

James was now an old man, and in these movements his place was taken by his son James Francis, known as the Chevalier de St George.

In 1708 an expedition equipped with the aid of Louis XIV. 10 was ready at Dunkirk, but the sudden illness of the Chevalier delayed its sailing until it was too late, the project having meanwhile become known.

A few months later a second expedition reached the Firth of Forth, but the French admiral refused to allow the Chevalier to land.

The proverbial Stewart ill-luck thus delayed the rising until the resentment against the Union had abated, and peace had been made with France. The agents of Jacobite intrigue seem to have been ignorant of the general change of 20 feeling, and in spite of the peace they still looked for French aid.

The rising of 1715 was twofold. The English Jacobites under Lord Derwentwater, joined by levies from the south of Scotland under Lord Kenmure, marched southwards, and



were routed at Preston on November 12th, 1715. Meanwhile the Highland chiefs, assembling under pretext of a hunting party, took up their headquarters at Perth, under the Earl of Mar.

Mar's object was to cross the Forth and march into the Lowlands, but the Duke of Argyle, who was in command of the royal forces, moved too quickly for him, and the two armies met near Dunblane.

THE whole of Mar's army being collected together within a very narrow circumference, slept on their 10 arms, and wrapped in their plaids, feeling less inconvenience from the weather, which was a severe frost, than would probably have been experienced by any other forces in Europe.

By daybreak, on Sunday, 13th November, the insurgent army drew up in two lines of battle, on the plain above the place where they had spent the night. They had not long assumed this posture when they perceived a strong squadron of horse upon an eminence to the south of their lines. This 20 was the Duke of Argyle, who, with some general officers, had taken this post in advance, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position and proceedings. In this he succeeded but imperfectly, on account of the swells and hollows which lay between him and Mar's army.

In the meantime, Mar, after satisfying himself that he was in presence of the enemy, called a council of his nobles, general officers, chiefs of clans, and commanders of corps. He is allowed on this 30 occasion to have made them a most animating

speech, and stated to the council the question, "Fight, or not?" The chiefs, nobles, and officers, answered with a universal shout of "Fight"; and their resolution reaching the two lines, as they stood drawn up in order of battle, was welcomed with loud huzzas, tossing up of hats and bonnets, and a cheerfulness, which seemed even to those who had been before uncertain and doubtful of the issue a sure presage of speedy victory.

- 10 In this state of excited feeling the army of Mar advanced towards the enemy. The Highlanders marched, or rather ran, with such eagerness that the horse were kept at the gallop in the rear. Both armies were thus ascending the hill in column, and met, as it were unexpectedly upon the top, being in some points within pistol-shot before they were aware of each other's presence. Both, therefore, endeavoured at the same time to form line-of-battle, and some confusion occurred on either side.
- 20 This, however, was of much less consequence to the Highlanders, whose terrors consisted in the headlong fury of the onset, whilst the strength of the regulars depended on the steadiness of their discipline.

A gentleman, named MacLean, thus described the attack of his own tribe: When his clan was drawn up in deep order, the best born, bravest, and best armed of the warriors in front, Sir John MacLean placed himself at their head, and said, with a loud voice "Gentlemen, this is a day we have long

30 wished to see. Yonder stands MacCallanmore for King George—Here stands MacLean for King

James—God bless MacLean and King James!—Charge, gentlemen!”

The clan then muttered a very brief prayer, fixed the bonnet firm on the head, stripped off their plaids, and rushed on the enemy, firing their fusees irregularly, then dropping them, and drawing their swords, and uniting in one wild yell, when they mingled among the bayonets. The regular troops on the left received this fierce onset of the mountaineers with a heavy fire, which did considerable 10 execution, but the Highlanders, resuming the fury of their attack, forced the line of the regulars in every direction, broke through them and dispersed them, making great slaughter among men less active than themselves, and loaded with an unwieldy musket, which in individual or irregular strife has scarce ever been found a match for the broadsword. The extreme left of Argyle's army was thus routed with considerable slaughter, for the Highlanders gave no quarter; but the troops of the centre, under 20 General Wightman, remained unbroken.

On the right wing, the event of the battle was very different. The attack of the Highlanders was as furious as on their right. But their opponents, though a little staggered, stood their ground with admirable resolution, and the Duke of Argyle detached Colonel Cathcart, with a body of horse, to cross a morass, which the frost had rendered passable, and attack the Highlanders on the flank as they advanced to the charge. In this manner their rapid assault was checked and baffled, and the left

wing of Mar's army, and his whole second line, were put to flight by the masterly movement of the Duke of Argyle, and the steadiness of the troops he commanded. But his situation was very perilous, for, as the fugitives consisted of five thousand men, there was every prospect of their rallying and destroying the Duke's small body, consisting only of five squadrons of horse, supported by Wightman, with three battalions of infantry, who had lately com-  
10 posed the centre of the army. Argyle took the bold determination to press on the fugitives with his utmost vigour, and succeeded in driving them back to the river Allan, where they had quartered the night before.

The field of battle now presented a singular appearance, for the left of both armies were broken and flying, the right of both victorious and in pursuit. But the events of war are of less consequence than the use which is made of them. It  
20 does not appear that any attempt was made on the part of Mar to avail himself of his success on the right. General Whitham had indeed resigned the field of battle to his opponents, and from thence fled almost to Stirling bridge. The victorious Highlanders did not take the trouble to pursue them, but having marched across the scene of action, drew up on an eminence, where they stood in groups with their drawn swords in their hands. One cause of  
30 their inactivity at this critical moment may be attributed to their having dropped their firearms, according to their fashion when about to charge;

another, certainly, was the want of active aides-de-camp to transmit orders; and a third, the character of the Highlanders, who are not always disposed to obedience. This much is certain, that had their victorious right wing pursued in the Duke of Argyle's rear when he advanced towards the river Allan, they must have placed him in the greatest danger, since his utmost exertion was scarce equal to keep the multitude before him in full retreat.

The Duke of Argyle having returned back from 10  
his pursuit of the enemy's left wing, came in contact with their right, but the combat was renewed on neither side. Both generals claimed the victory, but as Mar abandoned from that day all thoughts of a movement to the westward, his object must be considered as having been completely defeated; while Argyle attained the fruits of victory in retaining the position by which he defended the Lowlands; and barred against the insurgents every avenue by which they could enter them. 20

Thus began and thus ended a confused affray, of which a contemporary ballad-maker truly says, "there is nothing certain, except that there was actually a battle, which he witnessed."

Amidst the gradual but increasing defection that followed the battle, Mar saw himself at all rates obliged to keep his ground at Perth, since he knew, what others refused to take upon his authority, that the Chevalier de St. George was very shortly to be expected in his camp. 30

This Prince, unfortunate from his very infancy,

found himself, at the time of this struggle in his behalf, altogether unable to assist his partisans. He had been expelled from France by the Regent Duke of Orleans, and even the provision of arms and ammunition which he was able to collect from his own slender funds and those of his followers, or by the munificence of his allies, was intercepted in the ports of France. Having, therefore, no more effectual mode of rendering them assistance, he  
10 generously, or desperately, resolved to put his own person in the hazard, and live and die along with them. As a soldier, the Chevalier de St. George had shown courage upon several occasions ; that is, he had approached the verge of battle as near as persons of his importance are usually suffered to do. He was handsome in person, and courteous and pleasing in his manners ; but his talents were not otherwise conspicuous, nor did he differ from the ordinary class of great persons,  
20 whose wishes, hopes, and feelings are uniformly under the influence and management of some favourite minister, who relieves his master of the inconvenient trouble of thinking for himself upon subjects of importance. The arrival of a chief graced with such showy qualities as James possessed, might have given general enthusiasm to the insurrection at its commencement, but could not redeem it when it was gone to ruin ; any more than the unexpected presence of the captain on board a  
30 half-wrecked vessel can, of itself, restore the torn rigging which cannot resist the storm, or mend the

shattered planks which are yawning to admit the waves.

Having traversed Normandy, disguised in a mariner's habit, James embarked at Dunkirk aboard a small vessel, formerly a privateer, as well armed and manned as time would admit, and laden with a cargo of brandy. On the 22d December, 1715, he landed at Peterhead, having with him a retinue of only six gentlemen ; the rest of his train and equipage being to follow him in two other small vessels. 10 Of these, one reached Scotland, but the other was shipwrecked. The Earl of Mar, with a chosen train of persons of quality, to the number of thirty, went from Perth to kiss the hands of the Prince for whose cause they were in arms. They found him at Fetteresso, discomposed with the ague,—a bad disorder to bring to a field of battle. The deputation was received with the courtesy and marks of favour which could not be refused, although their news scarce deserved a welcome. The 20 Chevalier de St. George now for the first time received the melancholy intelligence that for a month before his arrival it had been determined to abandon Perth, and that, as soon as the enemy began to advance, they would be under the necessity of retreating into the wild Highlands.

This was a reception very different from what the Prince anticipated. Some hopes were still entertained that the news of the Chevalier's actual arrival might put new life into their sinking cause, 30 bring back the friends who had left their standard

and encourage new ones to repair thither, and the experiment was judged worth trying. For giving the greater effect to his presence, he appeared in royal state as he passed through Brechin and Dundee and entered Perth itself with an affectation of majesty.

James proceeded to name a privy council, to whom he made a speech, which had little in it that was encouraging to his followers. In spite of a  
10 forced air of hope and confidence, it was too obvious that the language of the Prince was rather that of despair. There was no rational expectation of assistance in men, money, or arms, from abroad, nor did his speech hold out any such. He was come to Scotland, he said, merely that those who did not choose to discharge their own duty might not have it in their power to make his absence an apology; and the ominous words escaped him, "that for him it was no new thing to be unfor-  
20 tunate, since his whole life, from his cradle, had been a constant series of misfortune, and he was prepared, if it so pleased God, to suffer the extent of the threats which his enemies threw out against him." These were not encouraging words, but they were the real sentiments of a spirit broken with disappointment.

On the other side, meanwhile, active measures of a very different kind were in progress. The Duke of Argyle had been in Stirling since the  
30 battle of 12th November, collecting gradually the means of totally extinguishing the rebellion.



On the 24th of January the advance from Stirling and the march on Perth were commenced, though the late hard frost, followed by a great fall of snow, rendered the operations of the army slow and difficult. On the last day of January the troops of Argyle crossed the Earn without opposition, and advanced to within eight miles of Perth.

On the other hand, all was confusion at the headquarters of the rebels. The Chevalier de St. 10 George had expressed the greatest desire to see the little kings, as he called the Highland chiefs and their clans; but, though professing to admire their singular dress and martial appearance, he was astonished to perceive their number so greatly inferior to what he had been led to expect, and expressed an apprehension that he had been deceived and betrayed. Nor did the appearance of this Prince excite much enthusiasm on the part of his followers. His person was tall and thin; 20 his look and eye dejected by his late bodily illness, and his whole bearing lacking the animation and fire which ought to characterise the leader of an adventurous, or rather desperate cause. He was slow of speech and difficult of access, and seemed little interested in reviews of his men, or martial displays of any kind. The Highlanders, struck with his resemblance to an automaton, asked if he could speak, and there was a general disap- 30 pointment, arising rather, perhaps, from the state of anxiety and depression in which they saw him,

than from any natural want of courage in the unhappy Prince himself.

Yet, the Highlanders, though few in numbers, still looked forward with the utmost spirit, and something approaching to delight, to the desperate conflict which they conceived to be just approaching; and when, on the 28th January, they learned that Argyle was actually on his march towards Perth, it seemed rather to announce a jubilee than a battle  
10 with fearful odds. The chiefs embraced, drank to each other, and to the good day which was drawing near; the pipes played, and the men prepared for action with that air of alacrity which a warlike people express at the approach of battle.

When, however, a rumour, first slowly whispered, then rapidly spreading among the clans, informed them that notwithstanding all the preparations in which they had been engaged, it was the general's purpose to retire before the enemy without fighting,  
20 the grief and indignation of these men rose to a formidable pitch of fury, and they assailed their principal officers with every species of reproach. "What can we do?" was the helpless answer of one of these gentlemen. "Do?" answered an indignant Highlander; "Let us do that which we were called to arms for, which certainly was not to run away." When the safety of the King's person was urged as a reason for retreat, they answered: "Trust his safety to us; and if he is willing to die like a  
30 prince, he shall see there are ten thousand men in Scotland willing to die with him."

Whatever reports were spread among the soldiers, the principal leaders had determined to commence a retreat, at the head of a discontented army, degraded in their own opinion, distrustful of their officers, and capable, should these suspicions ripen into a fit of fury, of carrying off both King and general into the Highlands, and there waging an irregular war after their own manner.

On the 28th of January an alarm was given in Perth of the Duke of Argyle's approach; and 10 it is remarkable, that, although in the confusion the general officers had issued no orders what measures were to be taken in case of this probable event, yet the clans themselves, with intuitive sagacity, took the strongest posts for checking any attack, and, notwithstanding a momentary disorder, were heard to cheer each other with the expression, "they should do well enough." The unhappy Prince himself was far from displaying the spirit of his partisans. He was observed to look dejected, and to 20 shed tears, and heard to say, that instead of bringing him to a crown they had led him to his grave.

On the 30th of January the anniversary of Charles the First's decapitation, and ominous therefore to his grandson, the Highland army filed off upon the ice which then covered the Tay. The town was shortly after taken possession of by a body of the Duke of Argyle's dragoons. but the weather was so severe, and the march of the rebels so regular, that it was impossible to push forward any vanguard 30 of strength sufficient to annoy their retreat.

On the arrival of the rebels at the seaport of Montrose, a rumour arose among the Highlanders that the King, as he was termed, the Earl of Mar, and some of their other principal leaders were about to abandon them, and take flight by sea. To pacify the troops, orders were given to continue the route towards Aberdeen; the equipage and horses of the Chevalier de St. George were brought out before the gate of his lodgings, and his guards were  
10 mounted as if to proceed on the journey. But before the hour appointed for the march James left his apartments privately for those of the Earl of Mar, and both took a by-road to the water's edge, where a boat waited to carry them in safety on board a small vessel prepared for their reception. The safety of these two personages being assured, boats were sent to bring off Lord Drummond, and a few other gentlemen, most of them belonging to the Chevalier's household; and thus the son  
20 of James II. once more retreated from the shores of his native country, which, on this last occasion, he seemed to have visited for no other purpose than to bring away his general in safety.

A general burst of grief and indignation greeted the news of the Chevalier's departure. Many of the insurgents threw down their arms in despair, exclaiming, that they had been deserted and betrayed, and were now left without either king or general. The clans broke up into different bodies, and  
30 marched to the mountains, where they dispersed, each to its own hereditary glen. The gentlemen

and Lowlanders who had been engaged either skulked among the mountains or gained the more northerly shires of the country, where vessels, sent from France to receive them, carried a great part of them to the Continent.

Thus ended the Rebellion of 1715, without even the usual sad *éclat* of a defeat.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE PORTEOUS RIOTS.

Two smugglers, named Wilson and Robertson, were sentenced to death in 1736 for robbing a Custom House. Robertson escaped, largely owing to the unselfish help of his comrade. The Customs and Excise were detested by the people, and Wilson became a popular hero, so that Captain Porteous, commander of the Edinburgh Town Guard, feared an attempt at a rescue on the day of the execution.

THE execution of Wilson, on the 14th of April, 1736, took place in the usual manner without any  
10 actual or menaced interruption. The criminal, according to his sentence, was hanged to the death, and it was not till the corpse was cut down that the mob, according to their common practice, began to insult and abuse the executioner, pelting him with stones, many of which were also thrown at the soldiers. At former executions it had been the custom for the city-guard to endure such insults with laudable patience, but on this occasion they were in such a state of irritation that they forgot  
20 their usual moderation, and repaid the pelting of the mob by pouring amongst them a fire of musketry, killing and wounding many persons. In their retreat also to the guard-house, as the rabble

pressed on them with furious execrations, some soldiers in the rear of the march again faced round and renewed the fire. In consequence of this unauthorised and unnecessary violence, Porteous was brought to trial for murder before the High Court of Justiciary. He denied that he ever gave command to fire, and it was proved that the fusee which he himself carried had never been discharged. On the other hand, in the perplexed and contradictory evidence which was obtained, where 10 so many persons witnessed the same events from different positions, and perhaps with different feelings, there were witnesses who said that they saw Porteous take a musket from one of his men and fire it directly at the crowd. A jury of incensed citizens took the worst view of the case, and found the prisoner guilty of murder. At this time King George II. was on the Continent, and the regency was chiefly in the hands of Queen Caroline, a woman of very considerable talent, and 20 naturally disposed to be tenacious of the crown's rights. It appeared to her Majesty and her advisers that though the action of Porteous and his soldiers was certainly rash and unwarranted, yet that, considering the purpose by which it was dictated, it must fall considerably short of the guilt of murder. Captain Porteous, in the discharge of a duty imposed on him by legal authority, had unquestionably been assaulted without provocation on his part, and had therefore a right to defend himself. and if 30 there were excess in the means he had recourse

to, yet a line of conduct originating in self-defence cannot be extended into murder, though it might amount to homicide. Moved by these considerations, the Regency granted a reprieve of Porteous's sentence, preliminary to his obtaining a pardon, which might perhaps have been clogged with some conditions.

When the news of the reprieve reached Edinburgh, they were received with gloomy and general  
10 indignation. The lives which had been taken in the affray were not those of persons of the meanest rank, for the soldiers, of whom many, with natural humanity, desired to fire over the heads of the rioters, had, by so doing, occasioned additional misfortune, several of the balls taking effect in windows which were crowded with spectators, and killing some persons of good condition. A great number, therefore, of all ranks were desirous that Porteous should atone with his own life for the blood which  
20 had been so rashly spilt by those under his command. A general feeling seemed to arise, unfavourable to the unhappy criminal, and public threats were cast out, though the precise source could not be traced, that the reprieve itself should not save Porteous from the vengeance of the citizens of Edinburgh.

The 7th day of September, the day previous to that appointed for his execution, had now arrived, and Porteous, confident of his speedy deliverance  
30 from jail, had given an entertainment to a party of friends, whom he feasted within the tolbooth, when



the festivity was strangely interrupted. Edinburgh was then surrounded by a wall on the east and south sides ; on the west it was defended by the castle, on the north by a lake called the North Loch. The gates were regularly closed in the evening and guarded. It was about the hour of shutting the ports when a disorderly assemblage began to take place in a suburb which has been always the residence of labourers and persons generally of inferior rank. The rabble continued to gather to a head, 10 and, to augment their numbers, beat a drum which they had taken from the man who exercised the function of drummer to the suburb. Finding themselves strong enough to commence their operations, they seized on the West Port, nailed and barricaded it. Then going along the Cowgate and gaining the High Street by the numerous lanes which run between these two principal streets of the Old Town, they secured the Cowgate Port and that of the Netherbow, and thus, except on the side of the castle, entirely 20 separated the city from such military forces as were quartered in the suburbs. The next object of the mob was to attack the city-guard, a few of whom were upon duty as usual. These the rioters stripped of their arms, and dismissed from their rendezvous, but without otherwise maltreating them, though the agents of the injury of which they complained. The various halberds, Lochaber axes, muskets, and other weapons, which they found in the guard-house, served to arm the rioters, a large body of whom now bent 30 their way to the door of the jail, while another body

drew up across the front of the Luckenbooths. The magistrates, with such force as they could collect, made an effort to disperse the multitude. They were strenuously repulsed, but with no more violence than was necessary to show that, while the populace were firm in their purpose, they meant to accomplish it with as little injury as possible to any one, excepting their destined victim.

In the meantime the multitude demanded that  
10 Porteous should be delivered up to them, and as they were refused admittance to the jail they prepared to burst open the doors. The outer gate was of such uncommon strength as to resist the united efforts of the rioters, though they employed sledge hammers and iron crows to force it open. Fire was at length called for, and a large bonfire, maintained with tar-barrels and such ready combustibles, soon burnt a hole in the door, through which the jailer flung the keys. This gave the  
20 rioters free entrance. Without troubling themselves about the fate of the other criminals, who naturally took the opportunity of escaping, the rioters or their leaders went in search of Porteous. They found him concealed in the chimney of his apartment, which he was prevented from ascending by a grating that ran across the vent, as is usual in such edifices. The rioters dragged their victim out of his concealment, and commanded him to prepare to undergo the death he had deserved: nor did they  
30 pay the least attention either to his prayers for mercy or to the offers by which he endeavoured to

purchase his life. Yet, amid all their obduracy of vengeance, there was little tumult, and no more violence than was inseparable from the action which they meditated. Porteous was permitted to entrust what money or papers he had with him to a friend, for the behoof of his family. One of the rioters, a grave and respectable-looking man, undertook, in the capacity of a clergyman, to give him ghostly consolation suited to his circumstances, as one who had not many minutes to live. He was conducted 10 from the tolbooth to the Grassmarket, which, both as being the usual place of execution and the scene where their victim had fired, or caused his soldiers to fire, on the citizens, was selected as the place of punishment. They marched in a sort of procession, guarded by a band of the rioters, miscellaneously armed with muskets, battle-axes, etc., which were taken from the guard-house, while others carried links or flambeaux. Porteous was in the midst of them, and as he refused to walk, he was carried by 20 two of the rioters on what is in Scotland called the King's cushion, by which two persons alternately grasping each other's wrists, form a kind of seat on the backs of their hands, upon which a third may be placed. They were so cool as to halt when one of the slippers dropped from his foot, till it was picked up, and replaced.

The citizens of the better class looked from their windows on this extraordinary scene, but terrified beyond the power of interference, if they had possessed the will. In descending the West Bow, which

leads to the place of execution, the rioters provided themselves with a coil of ropes, by breaking into the booth of a dealer in such articles, and left at the same time a guinea to pay for it; a precaution which would hardly have occurred to men of the lowest class, of which in external appearance the mob seemed to consist. A cry was next raised for the gallows, in order that Porteous might die according to all the ceremony of the law. But as  
10 this instrument of punishment was kept in a distant part of the town, so that time must be lost in procuring it, they proceeded to hang the unfortunate man over a dyer's pole, as near to the place of execution as possible. The poor man's efforts to save himself only added to his tortures; for as he tried to keep hold of the beam to which he was suspended, they struck his hands with guns and Lochaber axes, to make him quit his hold, so that he suffered more than usual in the struggle which  
20 dismissed him from life.

When Porteous was dead the rioters dispersed, withdrawing without noise or disturbance all the outposts which they had occupied for preventing interruption, and leaving the city so quiet, that had it not been for the relics of the fire which had been applied to the jail door; the arms which lay scattered in disorder on the street, as the rioters had flung them down; and the dead body of Porteous, which remained suspended in the place where he  
30 died; there was no visible symptom of so violent an explosion of popular fury having taken place.

The Government, highly offended at such a daring contempt of authority, imposed on the crown counsel the task of prosecuting the discovery of the rioters with the utmost care, and a reward of two hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of any person concerned in the riot, but without success.

Only a single person was proved to have been present at the mob, and the circumstances in which he stood placed him out of the reach of punishment. He was footman to a lady of rank, and a creature <sup>10</sup> of weak intellects. Being sent into Edinburgh on a message by his mistress, he had drunk so much liquor as to deprive him of all capacity whatever, and in this state mixed with the mob, some of whom put a halberd in his hand. But the witnesses who proved this apparent accession to the mob, proved also that the accused could not stand without the support of the rioters, and was totally incapable of knowing for what purpose they were assembled, and consequently of approving of or <sup>20</sup> aiding their guilt. He was acquitted accordingly, to the still further dissatisfaction of the Ministry, and of Queen Caroline, who considered the commotion, and the impunity with which it was followed, as an insult to her personal authority.

A bill was prepared and brought into Parliament for the punishment of the city of Edinburgh, in a very vindictive spirit, proposing to abolish the city charter, demolish the city walls, take away the town-guard, and declare the Provost incapable of <sup>30</sup> holding any office of public trust. A long investi-

gation took place on the occasion, in which many persons were examined at the bar of the House of Lords, without throwing the least light on the subject of the Porteous Mob, or the character of the persons by whom it was conducted. The penal conclusions of the bill were strenuously combated by the Duke of Argyle, Duncan Forbes, and others, who represented the injustice of punishing with dishonour the capital of Scotland for the insolence  
10 of a lawless mob, which, taking advantage of a moment of security, had committed a great breach of the peace, attended with a cruel murder. As men's minds cooled, the obnoxious clauses were dropped out of the bill, and at length its penal consequences were restricted to a fine of £2000 sterling on the city, to be paid for the use of Captain Porteous's widow. This person, having received other favours from the town, accepted of £1500 in full of the fine; and so ended the affair,  
20 so far as the city of Edinburgh was concerned.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1745. BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.

IN August 1745 Prince Charles Edward, son of James Francis, landed on the west of Inverness-shire with a mere handful of followers. He was soon joined by the leading Jacobite chiefs, and after raising his father's standard at Glenfinnan, he marched rapidly south and occupied Edinburgh. James VIII. was proclaimed at the Cross, and the Prince held a court at Holyrood, where he received the enthusiastic homage of the principal Jacobite families. The common people also greeted him with respect, but very few could be persuaded to enlist, and the castle remained in the hands of the enemy.

Sir John Cope marched from Dunbar to rescue the capital, and on the evening of September 20th the two armies were face to face near Prestonpans.

IN front of both armies, and separating the higher ground on which the Highland army was drawn up from the firm and level plain on which the regulars were posted, lay a piece of steep and swampy ground, intersected with ditches and enclosures, and traversed near the bottom by a thick strong hedge running along a broad wet ditch, and covering the front of the royal army. It was the object of the Chevalier to indulge the impatience of his troops by

pressing forward to instant battle. For this purpose he employed an officer of experience, Mr. Ker of Graden, who, mounted on a gray pony, coolly reconnoitred the seemingly impracticable ground which divided the armies, crossed it in several directions, deliberately alighted, pulled down gaps in one or two walls of dry stone, and led his horse through them, many balls being fired at him while performing this duty. This intrepid gentleman returned to  
10 the Chevalier to inform him that the morass could not be passed, so as to attack the front of General Cope's army, without sustaining a heavy and destructive fire of some continuance.

The position of General Cope might therefore be considered as unassailable, and that General, with a moderation which marked his mediocrity of talent, was happy in having found, as he thought, safety, when he ought to have looked for victory.

At nightfall the Highlanders lay down to rest in  
20 a field of pease, which was made up in ricks upon the ground. The minds of the Chiefs were still occupied with the means of discovering a path by which they might get clear of the morass, gain the open and firm ground, and rush down on Cope and his army, whom they regarded as their assured prey, if they could but meet them in a fair field.

There was in the Chevalier's army a gentleman named Anderson of Whitburgh, in East Lothian, to whom the ground in the vicinity was perfectly  
30 known, and who bethought him of a path leading from the height on which their army lay, sweeping



through the morass, and round the left wing of General Cope's army, as it was now disposed, and which might conduct them to the level and extensive flat, since called the field of battle. Mr. Anderson communicated this important fact to Mr. Hepburn of Keith. By Mr. Hepburn he was conducted to Lord George Murray, who, highly pleased with the intelligence, introduced him to Prince Charles Edward.

The candidate for a diadem was lying with a bunch of pease-straw beneath his head, and was <sup>10</sup> awakened with news which assured him of battle, and promised him victory. He received the tidings with much cheerfulness, and immediately, for the night was well spent, prepared to put the scheme into execution.

At once the whole of the Highland army got under arms, and moved forward with incredible silence and celerity, by the path proposed. They marched, as usual, in two columns of three men in front, the first led by young Clanranald with about <sup>20</sup> sixty men, under the guidance of Anderson of Whitburgh. The Highland army was about 3000 in number, being very nearly the same with Sir John Cope's.

Anderson guided the first line. He found the pathway silent and deserted, it winded to the north-east, down a sort of hollow, which at length brought them to the eastern extremity of the plain, at the west end of which the King's army was stationed, with its left flank to the assailants. No <sup>30</sup> guns had been placed to enfilade this important

pass, though there was a deserted embrasure which showed that the measure had been in contemplation; neither was there a sentinel or patrol to observe the motions of the Highlanders in that direction. On reaching the firm ground, the column advanced due northward across the plain, in order to take ground for wheeling up and forming line of battle. The Prince marched at the head of the second column, and close in the rear of the first. The morass was  
10 now rendered difficult by the passage of so many men. Some of the Highlanders sunk knee-deep, and the Prince himself stumbled, and fell upon one knee. The morning was now dawning, but a thick frosty mist still hid the motions of the Highlanders. The sound of their march could, however, no longer be concealed, and an alarm-gun was fired as a signal for Cope's army to get under arms.

Aware that the Highlanders had completely turned his left flank, and were now advancing  
20 from the eastward along a level and open plain, without interruption of any kind, Sir John Cope hastened to dispose his troops to receive them. Though probably somewhat surprised, the English general altered the disposition which he had made along the morass, and formed anew, having the walls of Preston Park, and that of Bankton, the seat of Colonel Gardiner, close in the rear of his army; his left flank extended towards the sea, his right rested upon the morass which had lately been  
30 in his front. His order of battle was now extended from north to south, having the east in front. In

other respects the disposition was unaltered, his infantry forming his centre, and on each wing a regiment of horse.

The Highlanders had no sooner advanced so far to the northward as to extricate the rear of the column from the passage across the morass, and place the whole on open ground, than they wheeled to the left, and formed a line of three men deep. This thin long line they quickly broke up into a number of small masses or phalanxes, each, according to 10 their peculiar tactics, containing an individual clan, which disposed themselves for battle in the manner following: The best-born men of the tribe, who were also the best armed, and had almost all targets, threw themselves in front of the regiment. The followers closed on the rear, and forced the front forward by their weight. After a brief prayer, which was never omitted, the bonnets were pulled over the brows, the pipers blew the signal, and the line of clans rushed forward, each forming a separate 20 wedge.

These preparations were made with such despatch on both wings, that the respective aides-de-camp of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray met in the centre, each bringing news that his general was ready to charge. The whole front line accordingly moved forward, and, as they did so, the sun broke out, and the mist rose from the ground like the curtain of a theatre. It showed to the Highlanders the line of regular troops drawn up in glittering 30 array like a complete hedge of steel, and at the

same time displayed to Cope's soldiers the furious torrent, which, subdivided into such a number of columns, or rather small masses, advanced with a cry which gradually swelled into a hideous yell, and became intermingled with an irregular but well-directed fire, the mountaineers presenting their pieces as they ran, dropping them when discharged, and rushing on to close conflict sword in hand. The events of the preceding night had created among  
10 the regulars an apprehension of their opponents not usual to English soldiers. General Cope's tactics displayed a fear of the enemy rather than a desire to engage him; and now this dreaded foe, having selected his own point of advantage, was coming down on them in all his terrors, with a mode of attack unusually furious, and unknown to modern war.

The Highlanders charged with a ferocity that struck dismay into their opponents. The old sea-  
20 men and gunners, who had been employed to serve the artillery on the right wing, showed the first symptoms of panic, and fled from the guns they had undertaken to work, carrying with them the priming flasks. Colonel Whitefoord, who had joined Cope's army as a volunteer, fired five of the guns on the advancing Highlanders, and, keeping his ground while all fled around him, was with difficulty saved from the fury of the Camerons and Stewarts, who, running straight on the muzzles of the cannon,  
30 actually stormed the battery. The regiment of dragoons being drawn up in two lines, the fore-

most squadron, under Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, having received orders to advance, were, like the gunners, seized with a panic, dispersed under the fire of the Highlanders, and went off without even an attempt to charge, riding down the artillery guard in their flight.

On Cope's left the cause of King George was not more prosperous. Hamilton's dragoons receiving a heavy rolling fire from the MacDonalds as they advanced broke up, and scattering in every direc- 10 tion, left the field of blood, galloping some from the enemy, some, in the recklessness of their terror, past the enemy, and some almost through them. The dispersion was complete and the disorder irretrievable. They fled west, east, and south, and it was only the broad sea which prevented them from flying to the north also, and making every point of the compass witness to their rout.

The infantry, though both their flanks were uncovered by the flight of the dragoons, received the 20 centre of the Highland line with a steady and regular fire, which cost the insurgents several men. But the first line of the Highlanders were not an instant checked by the fire of the musketry, for, charging with all the energy of victory, they parried the bayonets of the soldiers with their targets, and the deep clumps, or masses, into which the clans were formed, penetrated and broke, in several points, the extended and thin lines of the regulars. At the same moment Lochiel attacking the infantry on 30 the left, and Clanranald on the right flank, both

exposed by the flight of the dragoons, they were unavoidably and irretrievably routed. It was now perceived that Sir John Cope had committed an important error in drawing up his forces in front of a high park wall, which barred their escape from their light-heeled enemies. Fortunately there had been breaches made in the wall, which permitted some few soldiers to escape; but most of them had the melancholy choice of death or submission. A  
10 few fought, and fell bravely, but the greater part of the foot soldiers laid down their arms, after a few minutes' resistance. The second line, led by Prince Charles himself, had, during the whole action, kept so near the first, that to most of Sir John Cope's army they appeared but as one body; and as this unfortunate Prince's courage has been impeached, it is necessary to say that he was only fifty paces behind the vanguard in the very commencement of the battle.

20 Had there been any possibility of rallying the fugitives, the day might have been in some degree avenged, if not retrieved, for the first line of the Highlanders dispersed themselves almost wholly, in quest of spoil and prisoners. They were merciful to the vanquished after the first fury of the onset, but gave no quarter to the dragoon horses, which they considered as taught to bear a personal share in the battle.

The second line were with difficulty restrained  
30 from disbanding in like manner, until a report was spread that the dragoons had rallied, and were

returning to the field. Lochiel caused the pipes to play, which recalled many of his men. But the dragoons looked near them no more. The main body followed Sir John Cope in his retreat, while a few stragglers went off at full gallop to Edinburgh.

The greater part of the dragoons were collected by Sir John Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, and conducted in a very disreputable condition by Lauder to Coldstream, and from thence to Berwick. At the latter place, Lord <sup>10</sup> Mark Ker, of the family of Lothian, received the unfortunate general with the well-known sarcasm, "That he believed he was the first general in Europe who had brought the first tidings of his own defeat."

But the presence of the general in person on the field, since there was not even the semblance of an army, could not have remedied the disaster. There was never a victory more complete. Of the infantry, two thousand five hundred men, or thereabout, scarce two hundred escaped; the rest were either <sup>20</sup> slain or made prisoners. It has been generally computed that the slain amounted to four hundred, for the Highlanders gave little quarter in the first moments of excitation, though those did not last long. Five officers were killed, and eighty made prisoners. The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of two thousand. Many of them exhibited a frightful spectacle, being hideously cut with the broadsword. The field-artillery, with colours, standards, and other trophies, remained in the hands of <sup>30</sup> the victors.

The baggage-guard surrendered themselves prisoners on seeing the event of the battle, and the baggage and military chest, with £2500 in specie, became the booty of the conquerors. The Highlanders looked with surprise and amazement upon the luxuries of a civilised army. They could not understand the use of chocolate; and watches, wigs, and other ordinary appurtenances of the toilette were equally the subject of wonder and curiosity.

10 On the part of the victors, the battle, though brief, had not been bloodless. Four officers, and thirty privates of their army, were killed; six officers and seventy men wounded.

Such were the results of the celebrated battle of Prestonpans, in which the pride of military discipline received an indelible disgrace at the hands of a wild militia. Sir John Cope, whom it would be easy to vindicate so far as personal courage goes, was nevertheless overwhelmed with a ridicule due  
20 to poltroonery, as well as to want of conduct, and was doomed to remain

“Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,  
And the sad burden of a merry song.”



## CHAPTER VII.

### PRINCE CHARLIE IN ENGLAND

AFTER the victory of Preston the Prince desired to march south at once, believing that the English Jacobites would rally round him.

The Highland chiefs opposed this, urging the irregular habits of the clans, and the necessity of strengthening their position in Scotland.

The Prince's determination at length prevailed, and the army left Edinburgh on October 31st. The insurgents advanced unopposed across the Border to Carlisle, where they took the castle, but the Prince was disappointed by the coldness of the citizens, nor did he receive the welcome he had expected on his further progress through the northern counties of England.

No attempt at opposition was made, however, and London was panic-struck by exaggerated rumours.

THE unfortunate Prince marched on in full confidence in his stars, his fortunes, and his strength, like a daring gambler, encouraged by a run of luck which was hitherto extraordinary. but his English friends remained as much palsied as his enemies, nor did anything appear to announce that general declaration in his favour which he had asserted with so much confidence.

On arriving at Preston, in Lancashire, Lord

George Murray had to combat the superstition of the soldiers whom he commanded. The defeat of the Duke of Hamilton in the great Civil War, with the subsequent misfortune of Brigadier MacIntosh in 1715, had given rise to a belief that Preston was to a Scottish army the fatal point, beyond which they were not to pass. To counteract this superstition, Lord George led a part of his troops across the Ribble Bridge, a mile beyond Preston, at  
10 which town the Chevalier arrived in the evening. The spell which arrested the progress of the Scottish troops was thus supposed to be broken, and their road to London was considered as laid open.

The people of Preston received Charles Edward with several cheers, which were the first he had heard since entering England; but on officers being appointed to beat up for recruits, no one would enlist. When this was stated to the Prince, he continued, in reply, to assure his followers with  
20 unabated confidence, that he would be joined by all his English friends when they advanced as far as Manchester, and Monsieur D'Eguilles, with similar confidence, offered to lay considerable wagers that the French either had already landed or would land within a week. Thus the murmurers were once more reduced to silence.

During this long and fatiguing march, Charles shared with alacrity the fatigues of his soldiers. He usually wore a Highland dress and marched on  
30 foot at the head of one of the columns, insisting that the infirm and aged Lord Pitsligo should occupy

his carriage. He never took dinner, but, making a hearty meal at supper, threw himself upon his bed about eleven o'clock, without undressing and rose by four the next morning, and, as he had a very strong constitution, supported this severe labour day after day.

On the march between Preston and Wigan the road was thronged with people anxious to see the army pass by, who expressed their good wishes for the Prince's success, but when arms were offered 10 to them, and they were invited to enrol themselves in his service, they unanimously declined, saying in excuse they did not understand fighting. On the 29th, when the Prince arrived at Manchester, there was a still stronger appearance of favour to his cause; bonfires, acclamations, the display of white cockades, solemnised his arrival, and a considerable number of persons came to kiss his hand and to offer their services. About two hundred men of the populace were here enlisted, and being embodied 20 with the few who had before joined his standard, composed what was termed the Manchester regiment. The officers were in general respectable men, enthusiasts in the Jacobite cause, but the common soldiers were the very lowest of the populace. All this success was of a character very inferior to that which the Prince had promised and which his followers expected; yet it was welcome, and was regarded as the commencement of a rising in their favour, so that even Lord George Murray, 30 when consulted by a friend whether they should

not now renounce an expedition which promised so ill, gave it as his opinion that, before doing so, they should advance as far as Derby, undertaking that, if they were not joined by the English Jacobites in considerable numbers at that place, he would then propose a retreat.

The Highland army advanced accordingly to Derby; but in their road through Macclesfield, Leek, Congleton, and other places, were received  
10 with signs of greater aversion to their cause than they had yet experienced, so that all hopes founded on the encouragement they had received from the junction of the Manchester Regiment were quite obscured and forgotten.

They now also began to receive notice of the enemy, and learned that they were less than a day's march from an army of 10,000 and upwards, commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who had his headquarters at Lichfield,  
20 somewhat farther from the metropolis than those of Charles Edward. On the other hand, another English army, equal in numbers to their own, was moving up along the west side of Yorkshire, two or three marches in the rear of the Scottish invaders, who were thus in danger of being placed between two fires.

Besides these two armies George the Second was himself preparing to take the field at the head of his own Guards for the defence of the capital.

30 The Prince showed no abatement of the high confidence which he had hitherto entertained of

success. It seems to have been his idea to push forward at the head of his active troops, and, eluding the Duke of Cumberland, to press forward upon the metropolis, and dispute the pretensions of the reigning monarch beneath its very walls. He continued to entertain the belief that George the Second was a detested usurper, in whose favour no one would willingly draw his sword, that the people of England, as was their duty, still nourished that allegiance for the race of their native princes 10 which they were bound to hold sacred, and that, if he did but persevere in his daring attempt, Heaven itself would fight in his cause. His discourse, therefore, when at table, at Derby, was entirely about the manner in which he should enter London, whether on foot or horseback, or whether in Lowland or Highland garb, without hinting at the possibility of his having to retreat without making the final experiment on the faith and fortitude of the English. He remained at Derby for 20 nearly two days to refresh his forces.

On the morning of the 5th of December Lord George Murray, with all the commanders of battalions and squadrons, waited on the Prince and informed him that it was the opinion of all present that the Scots had now done everything that could be expected of them. They had marched into the heart of England, through the counties represented as most favourable to the cause, and had not been joined, except by a very insignificant number. They 30 had been assured also of a descent from France to

act in conjunction with them ; but of this there had not been the slightest appearance ; nevertheless, Lord George stated that if the Prince could produce a letter from any English person of distinction, containing an invitation to the Scottish army either to march to London or elsewhere, they were ready to obey. If, however, no one was disposed to intermeddle with their affairs, he stated they must be under the necessity of caring for themselves, in  
10 which point of view their situation must be considered as critical. The army of the Duke of Cumberland, ten thousand strong, lay within a day's march in front, or nearly so ; that of Marshal Wade was only two or three marches in their rear. Supposing that, nevertheless, they could give both armies the slip, a battle under the walls of London with George the Second's army was inevitable. He urged that with whomsoever they fought they could not reckon even upon victory without such a loss  
20 as would make it impossible to gather in the fruits which ought to follow it ; and that four or five thousand men were an army inadequate even to taking possession of the city of London, although undefended by regular troops, unless the populace were strongly in his favour, of which good disposition some friend would certainly have informed them if any such had existed.

Lord George Murray, to these causes for retreat, added a plan for a Scottish campaign, which he  
30 thought might be prosecuted to advantage. In retreating to that country the Prince had the

advantage of retiring upon his reinforcements, which included the body of Highlanders lying at Perth, as well as a detachment of French troops which had been landed at Montrose under Lord John Drummond. He therefore requested, in the name of the persons present, that they should go back and join their friends in Scotland, and live or die with them.

Charles Edward heard these arguments with the utmost impatience, expressed his determination to advance to London, having gained a day's march on the Duke of Cumberland, and plainly stigmatised as traitors all who should adhere to any other resolution. He broke up the council and used much argument with the members in private to alter their way of thinking; but at length, finding that his own absolute commands were in danger of being disobeyed, he was compelled to submit to the advice or remonstrance of the Scottish leaders.

On the 5th, therefore, in the evening, the council of war was again convoked, and the Chevalier told them, with sullen resignation, that he consented to return to Scotland, but at the same time informed them that in future he should call no more councils since he was accountable to nobody for his actions excepting to Heaven and to his father, and would, therefore, no longer either ask or accept their advice.

Thus terminated the celebrated march to Derby, and with it every chance, however remote, of the Chevalier's success in his romantic expedition.

Whether he ought ever to have entered England, at least without collecting all the forces which he could command, is a very disputable point; but it was clear that whatever influence he might for a time possess, arose from the boldness of his advance. The charm, however, was broken the moment he showed, by a movement in retreat, that he had undertaken an enterprise too difficult for him to achieve.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### CULLODEN.

THE Jacobite army, followed by the Duke of Cumberland, retreated through a country where indifference had changed to more positive hostility. A victory at Clifton, near Penrith, gave them no permanent advantage, but prevented Cumberland from harassing their retreat, and on December 20th they crossed the border once more.

A second victory at Falkirk, in January 1746, was rendered fruitless by the divided counsels of the leaders, and the desertions of men unaccustomed to regular warfare. The Jacobites withdrew gradually northward, engaging in frequent skirmishes, thus giving Cumberland time to accustom his men to the wild country and to Highland tactics

In April 1746 both armies had drawn near to Inverness.

THE Duke of Cumberland was at the head of an army of disciplined troops, completely organised, and supported by a fleet, which, advancing along the coast, could supply them with provisions, artillery, and every other material requisite for the carrying on of the campaign. They were under the command of a Prince whose authority was absolute, whose courage was undoubted, whose high birth was the boast of his troops, and whose military skill and experience were, in the opinion of

his followers, completely adequate to the successful termination of the war.

On the other hand, the army of Prince Charles lay widely dispersed, on account of the difficulty of procuring subsistence; so that there was great doubt of the possibility of assembling them in an united body within the short space afforded them for that purpose. The councils also of the adventurous Prince were unhappily divided, and those dissensions which had existed even in their days of prosperity, were increased in the present critical moment, even by the pressure of the emergency.

Besides the discords in the Prince's camp, the separation of his forces and the pecuniary difficulties which now pressed hard upon him were material obstacles to any probability of success in an action with the Duke of Cumberland. Charles endeavoured, indeed, to concentrate all his army near Inverness, but without entire success. General Stapleton, who had been engaged in attempting to reduce Fort William, abandoned that enterprise and returned to the Prince's camp, together with Lochiel and the other Highlanders by whom that irregular siege had been supported. But the Master of Fraser and Cluny and his MacPhersons were wanting, and there were besides 800 or 1000 men of different Highland clans who were dispersed in visiting their own several glens, and who would certainly have returned to the army if space had been allowed them for so doing.

It is also proper to mention that the cavalry of

the Prince had suffered greatly. That of Lord Pitsligo might be said to have been entirely destroyed by their hard duty on the retreat from Stirling, and was in fact converted into a company of foot-guards. Now, although these horsemen, consisting of gentlemen and their servants, might have been unable to stand the shock of heavy and regular regiments of horse, yet from their spirit and intelligence, they had been of the greatest service as light cavalry, and their loss to Charles Edward's army was a great misfortune. 10

The force which remained with the Prince was discontented from want of pay, and in a state of considerable disorganisation. The troops were not duly supplied with provisions and, like more regular soldiers under such circumstances, were guilty of repeated mutiny and disobedience of orders. For all these evils Charles Edward saw no remedy but in a general action, to which he was the more disposed that hitherto, by a variety of chances in his favour, as well as by the native courage of his 20 followers, he had come off victorious, though against all ordinary expectation, in every action in which he had been engaged. On such an alternative then, and with troops mutinous for want of pay, half starved for want of provisions, and diminished in numbers from the absence of 3000 or 4000 men, he determined to risk an action with the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of an army considerably outnumbering his own, and possessed of all those advantages of which he himself at the moment was 30 so completely deprived.

Charles drew out his forces upon an extensive moor, about five miles distant from Inverness. The Highlanders lay upon their arms all the night of the 14th; on the next morning they were drawn up in order of battle, in the position which the Chevalier proposed they should maintain during the action. On their right there were some park walls, on their left a descent which slopes down upon Culloden House; their front was directly east. They were  
10 drawn up in two lines, of which the Athole brigade held the right of the whole, and on the left were the three regiments of MacDonalds, styled, from their chiefs, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry.

As if a fate had hung over the councils of Charles, the disposition of this order of battle involved the decision of a point of honour, esteemed of the utmost importance in this singular army, though in any other a mere question of idle precedence. The MacDonalds, as the most powerful and numerous of  
20 the clans, had claimed from the beginning of the expedition the privilege of holding the right of the whole army. Lochiel and Appin had waived any dispute of this claim at the battle of Prestonpans; the MacDonalds had also led the right at Falkirk; and now the left was assigned to this proud surname, which they regarded not only as an affront but as an evil omen.

A great error on the part of the commissaries, or such as acted in that capacity in the Highland  
30 army, was exhibited in the almost total want of provisions; a deficiency the more inexcusable as it

was said there was plenty of meal at Inverness. The soldiers, however, received no victuals, except a single biscuit per man during the whole day of the 15th, and this dearth of provisions was such, that whether the army had been victorious or vanquished, upon the day of the 16th, they must have dispersed to distant quarters for the mere purpose of obtaining subsistence.

[Late on the 15th the Prince attempted to surprise Cumberland by a night attack, but daylight 10 overtook the insurgents, and they retreated to their own camp exhausted by hunger and fatigue.]

It had been proposed in the council of war of the preceding day that the Highland army should retire and take up a strong position beyond the river Nairn, inaccessible to cavalry. Such a movement would have been no difficult matter, had the confused state of the Chevalier's army, and the total want of provisions, permitted them to take any steps for their preservation. All, however, which 20 looked either like forethought or common sense seemed to be abandoned on this occasion, under the physical exhaustion of fatigue and famine. The army remained on the upper part of the open moor, having their flank covered on the right by the park walls which we have mentioned, their only protection from cavalry, and as it proved, a very slight one.

About two hours after the Prince had again reached Culloden, that is, about seven or eight o'clock, a patrol of horse brought in notice that a 30 party of the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry was

within two miles, and the whole of his army not above four miles distant. Upon this alarm the Prince and the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond, mounted their horses, and ordered the drums to beat, and the pipes to play their respective gatherings. This sudden summons to arms caused much hurry and confusion amongst men half dead with fatigue, and roused from the sleep of which they had so much need. The chiefs  
10 and officers did what was possible to get them together ; but, as they were dispersed in every direction, as far as Inverness itself, nearly two thousand of the Highlanders who were at the review of the preceding day were absent from the battle of the 16th.

The Duke of Cumberland's army now appeared about two miles off, advancing straight in front of the Prince's line of battle. His Royal Highness's force consisted of 8100 foot, and 900 horse. The  
20 day of the battle they were drawn up in two lines, supported by the two squadrons of horse on the right, and four squadrons of dragoons on the left. The Campbells were on the left with the Dragoons. There were two pieces of cannon betwixt every battalion in the first line, three on the right, and three on the left of the second.

Had the whole Highland army been collected, there would have been very little, if any, difference in numbers between the contending parties, but the  
30 Prince was deprived of about 2000 of his troops who had never come up, and the stragglers who left

his standard between the time of the review and the battle amounted to at least 2000 more; so that, upon the great and decisive battle of Culloden, only 5000 of the insurgent army were opposed to 9000 of the King's troops.

- There was no appearance of discouragement on either side; the troops on both sides huzzaed repeatedly as they came within sight of each other, and it seemed as if the Highlanders had lost all sense of fatigue at sight of the enemy. The Mac-Donalds alone had a sullen and discontented look, arising from their having taken offence at the post which had been assigned them.

As the lines approached each other, the artillery opened their fire, by which the Duke of Cumberland's army suffered very little, and that of the Highlanders a great deal; for the English guns, being well served, made lanes through the ranks of the enemy, while the French artillery scarcely killed a man. To remain steady and inactive under this galling fire, would have been a trial to the best disciplined troops, and it is no wonder that the Highlanders showed great impatience under an annoyance peculiarly irksome to their character. Some threw themselves down to escape the artillery, some called out to advance, and a very few broke their ranks and fled. The cannonade lasted for about an hour; at length the clans became so impatient that Lord George Murray was about to give the order to advance, when the Highlanders, from the centre and right wing, rushed without orders furiously down,

after their usual manner of attacking, sword in hand. Being received with a heavy fire, both of cannonade and grape-shot, they became so much confused that they got huddled together in their onset, without any interval or distinction of clans or regiments. Notwithstanding this disorder, the fury of their charge broke through the left of the Duke of Cumberland's line. But that General had anticipated the possibility of such an event, and had strengthened his second line so as to form a steady support in case any part of his first should give way. The Highlanders, partly victorious, continued to advance with fury, and although much disordered by their own success, and partly disarmed by having thrown away their guns on the very first charge, they rushed on Sempill's regiment in the second line with unabated fury. That steady corps was drawn up three deep, the first rank kneeling, and the third standing upright. They reserved their fire until the Highlanders were within a yard of the bayonet point, when Sempill's battalion poured in their fire with so much accuracy that it brought down a great many of the assailants and forced the rest to turn back. A few pressed on, but, unable to break through Sempill's regiment, were bayoneted by the first rank. The attack of the Highlanders was the less efficient, that on this occasion most of them had laid aside their targets, expecting a march rather than a battle. While the right of the Highland line sustained their national character, though not with their usual success, the MacDonalds on the left



seemed uncertain whether they would attack or not. It was in vain the Duke of Perth called out to them, "Claymore!" telling the murmurers of this haughty tribe, "That if they behaved with their usual valour they would convert the left into the right, and that he would in future call himself MacDonald." It was equally in vain that the gallant Keppoch charged with a few of his near relations, while his clan, a thing before unheard of, remained stationary. The chief was near the front 10 of the enemy, and was exclaiming with feelings which cannot be appreciated, "My God, have the children of my tribe forsaken me!" At this instant he received several shots, which closed his earthly account, leaving him only time to advise his favourite nephew to shift for himself. The three regiments of MacDonalds were by this time aware of the rout of their right wing, and retreated in good order upon the second line. A body of cavalry, from the right of the King's army, was commanded to attack 20 them on their retreat, but was checked by a fire from the French piquets, who advanced to support the MacDonalds. But at the same moment another decisive advantage was gained by the Duke's army over the Highland right wing. A body of horse, making 600 cavalry, with three companies of Argyleshire Highlanders, had been detached to take possession of the park walls, repeatedly mentioned as covering the right of the Highlanders. The three companies of infantry had pulled down the 30 east wall of the enclosure, and put to the sword

about a hundred of the insurgents, to whom the defence had been assigned; they then demolished the western wall, which permitted the dragoons, by whom they were accompanied, to ride through the enclosure, and get out upon the open moor, to the westward, and form, so as to threaten the rear and flank of the Prince's second line. Gordon of Abachie, with his Lowland Aberdeenshire regiment, was ordered to fire upon these cavalry, which he did  
10 with some effect. The Campbells then lined the north wall of the enclosure so often mentioned, and commenced a fire upon the right flank of the Highlanders' second line. That line, increased by the MacDonalds, who retired upon it, still showed a great number of men keeping their ground, many of whom had not fired a shot. Lord Elcho rode up to the Prince, and eagerly exhorted him to put himself at the head of those troops who yet remained, make a last exertion to recover the  
20 day, and at least die like one worthy of having contended for a crown. Receiving a doubtful or hesitating answer, Lord Elcho turned from him with a bitter execration, and declared he would never see his face again. On the other hand, more than one of the Prince's officers declared, and attested Heaven and their own eyes as witnesses, that the unfortunate Adventurer was forced from the field by Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others of the Irish officers who were about his person.

30 Although the Chevalier, if determined on seeking it, might certainly have found death on the field

where he lost all hopes of empire, there does not appear a possibility that his most desperate exertions could have altered the fortune of the day. The second line, united with a part of the first, stood, it is true, for some short time after the disaster of the left wing, but they were surrounded with enemies. In their front was the Duke of Cumberland, dressing and renewing the ranks of his first line, which had been engaged, bringing up to their support his second, which was yet entire, and on the point of 10 leading both to a new attack in front. On the flank of the second line of the Chevalier's army were the Campbells, lining the northern wall of the enclosure. In the rear of the whole Highland army was a body of horse, which could be greatly increased in number by the same access through the park wall which had been opened by the Campbells. The Highlanders of the Prince's army, in fact, were sullen, dejected, and dispirited, dissatisfied with their officers and generals, and not in perfect good humour 20 with themselves. It was no wonder that, after remaining a few minutes in this situation, they should at last leave the field to the enemy, and go off in quest of safety wherever it was to be found.

The Duke of Cumberland proceeded with caution. He did not permit his first line to advance on the repulsed Highlanders till he had restored their ranks to perfect order, nor to pursue till the dispersion of the Highland army seemed complete. When that was certain, Kingston's horse, and the dragoons from 30 each wing of the Duke's army, were detached in

pursuit, and did great execution. They did not charge such of the enemy, whether French or Highlanders, as kept in a body, but dogged and watched them closely on their retreat, moving more or less speedily as they moved, and halting once or twice when they halted. On the stragglers they made great havoc, till within a mile of Inverness.

It was in general remarked that the English horse, whose reputation had been blemished in  
10 previous actions with the Highlanders, took a cruel pleasure in slaughtering the fugitives, giving quarter to none, except a few who were reserved for public execution, and treating those who were disabled with cruelty unknown in modern war. Even the day after the battle, there were instances of parties of wounded men being dragged from the thickets and huts in which they had found refuge, for the purpose of being drawn up and despatched by  
20 platoon-firing; while those who did not die under this fusillade, were knocked on the head by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. It was early found necessary to make some averment which might seem to justify this unheard-of cruelty; and, accordingly, a story was circulated, concerning an order said to have been issued by Lord George — Murray, commanding the Highlanders to give no quarter if victorious. But not one of the insurgent party ever saw such an order; nor did any of them hear of it till after the battle.

30 In this decisive action, the victors did not lose much above 300 men, in killed and wounded, while

the loss of the vanquished army was upwards of 1000 men. In short, the blow was equally severe and decisive, and the more so, that the heaviest of the loss fell on the high chiefs and gentlemen, who were the soul of the Highland army.

It was not to be expected that the defeat of Culloden should pass over without fatal consequences to those who had been principally concerned in the insurrection. A handful of men had disturbed the tranquillity of a peaceful people, who were demanding 10 no change of their condition, had inflicted a deep wound upon the national strength, and, what is seldom forgotten in the moment when revenge becomes possible, had inspired universal terror. It was to be expected, therefore, that those who had been most active in such rebellious and violent proceedings should be called to answer with their lives for the bloodshed and disorder to which they had given occasion. They themselves well knew at what bloody risk they had played the deadly game of 20 insurrection, and expected no less forfeit than their lives. But as all concerned in the rebellion had in strictness forfeited their lives to the law, it became fitting that Justice should so select her victims as might, if possible, reconcile her claims with the feelings of humanity, instead of outraging them by a general and undistinguishing effusion of blood. Treason upon political accounts, though one of the highest crimes that can be committed against a state, does not necessarily infer anything like the 30 detestation which attends offences of much less

general guilt and danger. He who engages in conspiracy or rebellion is very often, as an individual, not only free from reproach, but highly estimable, in his private character; such men, for example, as Lord Pitsligo, or Cameron of Lochiel, might be said to commit the crime for which they were obnoxious to the law, from the purest, though at the same time the most mistaken motives—motives which they had sucked in with their mother's milk, and  
10 which urged them to take up arms by all the ties of duty and allegiance. The sense of such men's purity of principles and intention, though not to be admitted in defence, ought, both morally and politically, to have limited the proceedings against them within the narrowest bounds consistent with the ends of public justice, and the purpose of intimidating others from such desperate courses.

Unfortunately for the Duke of Cumberland's fame, he saw his duty in a different light. This Prince  
20 bore deservedly the character of a blunt, upright, sensible man, friendly and good-humoured in the ordinary intercourse of life. He had learned war in the rough school of Germany, where the severest infliction upon the inhabitants was never withheld, if it was supposed necessary, either to obtain an advantage or to preserve one already gained.

We have mentioned the merciless execution which was done upon the fugitives and on the wounded  
30 who remained on the field of battle. The first might be necessary to strike terror into an enemy

so resolute and so capable of rallying as the Highlanders; the second might be the effect of the brutal rage of common soldiers flushed by victory, to which they had not been of late accustomed, and triumphant over an enemy before whom many of them had fled; but the excesses which followed, must, we fear, be imputed to the callous disposition of the commander-in-chief himself, under whose eye, and by whose command, a fearful train of ravages and executions took place. 10

The Duke proceeded, in military phrase, to improve his victory, by "laying waste" what was termed "the country of the enemy"; and his measures were taken slowly, that they might be attended with more certain success. Proclamations had been sent forth for the insurgent Highlanders to come in and surrender their arms, with which very few complied. Several of the chiefs, indeed, had made an agreement among themselves to meet together and defend their country; but the list of the slain and disabled chiefs 20 had been so extensive, and the terror and dismay attending the dispersion so great, as to render the adoption of any general measures of defence altogether impossible.

The Duke of Cumberland—so much may be said in his justification—entered what was certainly still a hostile, but an unresisting country, and, fixing his own headquarters in a camp near Fort Augustus, extended his military ravages, by strong parties of soldiery, into the various glens which had been for 30 ages the abode of the disaffected clans. The soldiers

had orders to exercise towards the unfortunate natives the utmost extremities of war.

They shot, therefore, the male inhabitants as they fled at their approach; they plundered the houses of the chieftains; they burnt the cabins of the peasants; they were guilty of every kind of outrage towards women, old age, and infancy; and where the soldier fell short of these extremities, it was his own mildness of temper, or that of some officer of  
10 gentler mood, which restrained the license of his hand. There can be no pleasure in narrating more particularly such scenes as this devastation gave rise to. When the men were slain, the houses burnt, and the herds and flocks driven off, the women and children perished from famine in many instances, or followed the track of the plunderers, begging for the blood and offal of their own cattle, slain for the soldiers' use, as the miserable means of supporting a wretched life.

20 It would not be just to blame the English alone for these severities. It must be confessed that Scottish officers were found willing to escape from the suspicion of Jacobitism, so fatal to preferment, at the expense of becoming the agents of the cruelties practised on their unfortunate countrymen.

At length and slowly the military operations began to be relaxed. After residing at Fort Augustus from the 24th of May till the 18th of July, the Duke of Cumberland returned towards Edinburgh,  
30 and the military executions, slaughters, and ravages were in a great measure put an end to. The license



of the soldiery was curbed; courts of civil justice asserted the wholesome superiority of the law over violence; the aggressions of the parties of soldiery were punished with damages in the usual course of justice; and the ordinary rules of civilised society were in a great measure replaced.

We now proceed to consider the fate of Charles Edward himself, the first among the insurgents in rank, in misfortune, and in the temerity which led to the civil war. A reward of £30,000 was offered 10 for the discovery and seizure of this last scion of a royal line. It was imagined, that in a country so poor as the Highlands, lawless in a sense, so far as the law of property was concerned, and where the people were supposed to be almost proverbially rapacious, a much smaller reward would have insured the capture of the Pretender to the throne. His escape, however, so long delayed, and effected through so many difficulties, has been often commemorated as a brilliant instance of fidelity. 20

During the battle of Culloden Charles had his share of the dangers of the field. The cannon especially directed against his standard made some havoc among his guards, and killed one of his servants who held a led horse near to his person. The Prince himself was covered with the earth thrown up by the balls. He repeatedly endeavoured to rally his troops, and in the opinion of most who saw him did the duties of a brave and good commander. When he retreated from the field he was 30 attended by a large body of horse, from whom,

being perhaps under some doubt of their fidelity, he disengaged himself, by dismissing them on various errands, but particularly with instructions to warn the fugitives that they were to rendezvous at Ruthven, in Badenoch; for such had been the reckless resolution to fight, and such perhaps the confidence in victory, that no place of rendezvous had been announced to the army in case of defeat. Having dismissed the greater part of his horsemen, 10 Charles directed his flight to Gortuleg, where he only partook of some slight refreshment and rode on. Invergarry, the castle of the Laird of Glengarry, was the next halt, where the chance success of a fisherman who had caught a brace of salmon afforded him a repast. From Invergarry the fugitive Prince penetrated into the West Highlands, and took up his abode in a village called Glenboisdale, very near the place where he had first landed. By this time he had totally renounced the further prosecution 20 of his enterprise, his sanguine hopes being totally extinguished in the despair which attended his defeat. Charles despatched a message to those chiefs and soldiers who should rendezvous at Ruthven in obedience to his order, to acquaint them that, entertaining deep gratitude for their faithful attention and gallant conduct on all occasions, he was now under the necessity of recommending to them to look after their own safety, as he was compelled by circumstances to retire to France, from whence he 30 hoped soon to return with succours.

From this time Charles must be regarded as pro-

viding for his own escape, and totally detached from the army which he lately commanded. With this view he embarked for the Long Island, on the coast of which he hoped to find a French vessel. Contrary winds, storms, disappointments of several sorts, attended with hardships to which he could be little accustomed, drove him from place to place in that island and its vicinity, till he gained South Uist, where he was received by Clanranald, who, one of the first who joined the unfortunate Prince,<sup>10</sup> was faithful to him in his distresses. Here, for security's sake, Charles was lodged in a forester's hut of the most miserable kind, called Corradale, about the centre of the wild mountain so named.

But every lurking-place was now closely sought after, and the islands in particular were strictly searched.

General Campbell landed upon South Uist, with the purpose of searching the Long Island from south to north, and he found the MacDonalds of<sup>20</sup> Skye, and MacLeod of MacLeod, as also a strong detachment of regular troops, engaged in the same service. While these forces, in number two thousand men, searched with eagerness the interior of the island, its shores were surrounded with small vessels of war, cutters, armed boats, and the like. It seemed as if the Prince's escape from a search so vigorously prosecuted was altogether impossible; but the high spirit of a noble-minded female rescued him, when probably every other means must have<sup>30</sup> failed.

This person was the celebrated Flora MacDonald ; she was related to the Clanranald family, and was on a visit to that chief's house at Ormaclade, in South Uist, during the emergency we speak of. Her stepfather was one of Sir Alexander MacDonald's clan, an enemy to the Prince of course, and in the immediate command of the militia of the name MacDonald, who were then in South Uist.

Notwithstanding her stepfather's hostility, Flora  
10 MacDonald readily engaged in a plan for rescuing the unfortunate Wanderer. With this purpose she procured from her stepfather a passport for herself, a man servant, and a female servant, who was termed Betty Burke—the part of Betty Burke being to be acted by the Chevalier in woman's attire. In this disguise, after being repeatedly in danger of being taken, Charles at length reached Kilbride, in the Isle of Skye ; but they were still in the country of Sir Alexander MacDonald, and, devoted as that  
20 chief was to the service of the Government, the Prince was as much in danger as ever. Here the spirit and presence of mind of Miss Flora MacDonald were again displayed in behalf of the object, so strangely thrown under the protection of one of her sex and age. She resolved to confide the secret to Lady Margaret MacDonald, the wife of Sir Alexander, and trust to female compassion, and the secret reserve of Jacobitism which lurked in the heart of most Highland women.

30 Lady Margaret MacDonald was much alarmed. Her husband was absent, and as the best mode for

the unfortunate Prince's preservation, her house being filled with officers of the militia, she committed him to the charge of MacDonald of Kingsburgh, a man of courage and intelligence, who acted as factor or steward for her husband. Flora MacDonald accordingly conducted Charles to MacDonald of Kingsburgh's house; and he was fortunate enough to escape detection on the road, though the ungainly and awkward appearance of a man dressed in female apparel attracted suspicion on more than one occasion. 10

From Kingsburgh the Wanderer retired to Raasay, where he suffered great distress, that island having been plundered on account of the laird's accession to the rebellion. During this period of his wanderings he personated the servant of his guide, and the country of the Laird of MacKinnon became his temporary refuge; but notwithstanding the efforts of the chief in his favour, that portion of Skye could afford him neither a place of repose nor safety, so that he was compelled once more to take refuge 20 on the mainland, and was by his own desire put ashore on Loch Nevis.

Here also he encountered imminent danger, and narrowly escaped being taken. There were a number of troops engaged in traversing this district, which being the country of Lochiel, Keppoch, Glengarry, and other Jacobite chiefs, was the very cradle of the rebellion. Thus the Wanderer and his guides soon found themselves included within a line of sentinels, who, crossing each other upon their posts, 30 cut them off from proceeding into the interior of

the province. After remaining two days cooped up within this hostile circle, without daring to light a fire, or to dress any provisions, they at length escaped the impending danger by creeping down a narrow and dark defile, which divided the posts of two sentinels.

Proceeding in this precarious manner, his clothes reduced to tatters, often without food, fire, or shelter, the unfortunate Prince, upheld only by the hope of  
10 hearing of a French vessel on the coast, at length reached the mountains of Strathglass, and was compelled to seek refuge in a cavern where seven robbers had taken up their abode—(by robbers you are not in the present case to understand thieves, but rather outlaws, who dared not show themselves on account of their accession to the rebellion)—and lived upon such sheep and cattle as fell into their hands. These men readily afforded refuge to the Wanderer, and recognising the Prince, for whom they had repeatedly  
20 ventured their lives, in the miserable suppliant before them, they vowed unalterable devotion to his cause. Among the flower of obedient and attached subjects, never did a Prince receive more ready, faithful, and effectual assistance, than he did from those who were foes to the world and its laws. Desirous of rendering him all the assistance in their power, the hardy freebooters undertook to procure him a change of dress, clean linen, refreshments, and intelligence. They proceeded in a manner  
30 which exhibited a mingled character of ferocity and simplicity. Two of the gang waylaid and killed

the servant of an officer, who was going to Fort Augustus with his master's baggage. The portmantau which he carried fell into the robbers' hands, and supplied the articles of dress which they wanted for the Chevalier's use. One of them, suitably disguised, ventured into Fort Augustus, and obtained valuable information concerning the movements of the troops; and desirous to fulfil his purpose in every particular, he brought back in the singleness of his heart, as a choice regale to the unhappy 10 Prince, a pennyworth of gingerbread!

With these men Charles Edward remained for about three weeks, and it was with the utmost difficulty they would permit him to leave them. "Stay with us," said the generous robbers; "the mountains of gold which the Government have set upon your head may induce some gentleman to betray you, for he can go to a distant country and live on the price of his dishonour; but to us there exists no such temptation. We can speak no language 20 but our own—we can live nowhere but in this country, where, were we to injure a hair of your head, the very mountains would fall down to crush us to death."

After many difficulties he effected a junction with his faithful adherents, Cluny and Lochiel, though not without great risk and danger on both sides. They took up for a time their residence in a hut called the cage, curiously constructed in a deep thicket on the side of a mountain called Ben-30 alder, under which name is included a great forest

or chase, the property of Cluny. Here they lived in tolerable security, and enjoyed a rude plenty, which the Prince had not hitherto known during his wandering.

About the 18th of September Charles received intelligence that two French frigates had arrived at Lochnanuagh, to carry him and other fugitives of his party to France, and Lochiel embarked along with him on the 20th.

- 10 The Prince landed near Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September. His short but brilliant expedition had attracted the attention and admiration of Europe, from his debarkation in Boradale, about the 26th of August 1745, until the day of his landing in France, a period of thirteen months and a few days, five months of which had been engaged in the most precarious, perilous, and fatiguing series of flight, concealment, and escape that has ever been narrated in history or romance.
- 20 During his wanderings, the secret of the Adventurer's concealment was entrusted to hundreds of every sex, age, and condition; but no individual was found, in a high or low situation, or robbers even who procured their food at the risk of their lives, who thought for an instant of obtaining opulence at the expense of treachery to the proscribed and miserable fugitive. Such disinterested conduct will reflect honour on the Highlands of Scotland while their mountains shall continue to exist.



## NOTES.

P. 1, l. 4. **Episcopacy**, government of the Church by Bishops.

P. 2, l. 6. **Covenant**, the National Covenant of Scotland, "for the defence of the true religion and the liberties and laws of the kingdom," signed March 1st, 1638, on a tombstone in Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh.

P. 2, l. 11. **Solemn League and Covenant**, an agreement between the English and Scottish Parliaments to preserve the Presbyterian form of Church Government in Scotland and establish it in England.

P. 2, l. 12. **Presbytery**, government of the Church by Elders or Presbyters.

P. 7, l. 4. The lines beginning, "Let them bestow on every airth a limb." The well-known lyric, "My dear and only love," is also by Montrose. It may be found in almost any Anthology.

P. 8, l. 2. **The Grassmarket**, a square to the south east of the Castle, where public executions took place.

P. 8, l. 15. **Garter**, the most distinguished order of knighthood in England, instituted by Edward III. about 1344. A star bearing the motto of the order formed the upper part of the insignia, and seems sometimes to have been worn alone.

P. 11, l. 24. **Lauderdale**, Secretary of State for Scotland after the Restoration.

P. 14, l. 10. **Dunnavertie**, a castle in Kintyre, where a small garrison of Royalists was put to the sword by Lesley. **Philiphaugh**, a plain two miles from Selkirk, near the confluence of the Yarrow and the Ettrick. After the defeat of Montrose in 1645 the prisoners were slain in the courtyard of Newark Castle.

P. 17, l. 3. **Balfour**, one of the murderers of the Archbishop, and a leading character in *Old Mortality*.

P. 19, l. 22. **Burnet**, Bishop of Salisbury, author of the *History of his Own Time*, and other historical works.

P. 21, l. 30. **Peden**, one of the Covenanting preachers who was specially credited with the gift of prophecy. According to tradition he foretold Brown's violent death on the occasion of his marriage, some three years earlier. The extremists among the Covenanters were known as *Cameronians*, from the name of their leader, Richard Cameron.

P. 26, l. 28. **Cameron of Lochiel**, a Highland chief, distinguished for his high character and for his personal strength. He held out for Charles II. against Cromwell long after the King's cause had become hopeless; he fought for James VII at Killiecrankie, and was prevented only by old age from fighting for his son at Sheriffmuir.

P. 31, l. 21. **John, second Duke of Argyle**, one of the leading spirits in bringing about the union of 1707. He distinguished himself in Marlborough's campaigns in the low countries, and was made Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in 1715. As head of the Clan Campbell he was known in the Highlands as MacCallanmore.

P. 35, l. 22. "There's some say that we wan,  
Some say that they wan,  
And some say that nane wan at a', man,  
But ae thing I'm sure  
That at Sherramuir  
A battle there was that I saw, man,  
And we ran, and they ran,  
And they ran, and we ran,  
And we ran, and they ran awa', man."

P. 36, l. 4. **Duke of Orleans**, uncle of Louis XV., and Regent of France during his minority.

P. 45, l. 20. **Caroline of Anspach**, wife of George II., who acted as Regent during the King's frequent visits to Hanover.

P. 47, l. 4. **A lake** to the north of the Castle, drained towards the end of the eighteenth century. The depression is now occupied by Princes Street Gardens.

P. 47, l. 15. **West Port**, the gate opening into the Grassmarket.

P. 47, l. 17. **High Street and Cowgate**, the principal thoroughfares of Old Edinburgh, running east from the Castle ridge. They were cut off from the Canongate, then a separate borough, by the Netherbow Port and the Cowgate Port respectively.

P. 47, l. 28. **Lochaber axes**, long pikes with axe heads, and a hook to aid in scaling walls.

P. 48, l. 1. **Luckenbooths**, a row of shops, or booths, in High Street.

P. 52, l. 7. **Duncan Forbes**, Lord Advocate of Scotland, a high-principled patriot, and loyal servant of the Hanoverian dynasty. His exertions in 1745 prevented more than one powerful clan from joining Charles Edward, and had much to do with the failure of the rising. He fell into disfavour with the authorities through his efforts to mitigate Cumberland's severities after Culloden.

The Porteous Riots are vividly portrayed in the *Heart of Midlothian*.

P. 55, l. 7. **Lord George Murray**, brother of the Duke of Atholl, and Charles Edward's Commander-in-Chief. He was never fully trusted by the Prince, though he appears to have been entirely loyal, and thus there were often divided counsels and friction in the Jacobite camp.

P. 55, l. 20. **Clanranald**, a young chief of one of the numerous branches of the great clan MacDonald.

P. 56, l. 27. **Colonel Gardiner**, noted for his saintly life, fell fighting bravely. His death is described in *Waverley*.

P. 59, l. 30. **Lochiel**, known as the "gentle Lochiel," grandson of the Lochiel who fought at Killiecrankie. In their self-sacrificing fidelity to a lost cause the Lochiels stand for all that is noblest in Jacobitism.

P. 62, l. 22. From Pope's *Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*. The reference is to the humorous Jacobite song in which the lines occur:

"Says Lord Mark Ker, 'ye are na blate (shy)  
To bring the news o' yer ain defeat;  
I think ye deserve the back o' the gate;  
Get out o' my sight this morning.'"

P. 64, l. 3. In 1648, the Duke of Hamilton, leader of the Moderate party among the Presbyterians who were willing to come to terms with Charles I., invaded England, and was routed by Cromwell at Preston.

On the 12th of November 1715, the day before the Battle of Sheriffmuir, the Southern Jacobites were totally defeated at the same place.

P. 64, l. 22. The Marquis D'Eguilles was sent from France to ascertain the Prince's real situation, and remained as a kind of military attaché. A few weeks after his arrival French ships landed at Stonehaven and Montrose with gunners and artillery, which, however, proved hampering rather than helpful to the irregular Highland army.

P. 64, l. 31. **Alexander Forbes**, Lord Pittsligo, belonged to a Whig family, but was a devoted adherent of the Stewarts. He opposed the Union, and was concerned in the rising of 1715,

and, though an old man, did good service in 1745 as leader of a small band of cavalry raised by himself. After Culloden he was long a fugitive, and, like Scott's Baron of Bradwardine, he was concealed on his own estate. He is the *Old Scottish Cavalier* of Aytoun's ballad.

P. 66, l 18. **Wilham Augustus, Duke of Cumberland**, second son of George II. He was present at Dettingen along with his father in 1743, and would probably have turned the defeat at Fontenoy in 1745 into a victory, had he been adequately supported. He was recalled to England during the alarm that followed Prestonpans as the only General able to cope with the rising. His excesses after Culloden have been much exaggerated, though there can be no doubt that his action was often both cruel and unconstitutional.

P. 72, l. 24. **The Master of Fraser**, son of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, seems to have been forced by his father to take the field for Charles Edward. The father, known as the "old fox," was an intriguer on both sides through his long life, but in spite of his tortuous policy he was executed in 1747. In contrast with such men as Lochiel and Lord Pitsligo he represents the basest element in Jacobitism.

P. 78, l. 31. There is no contemporary evidence for the refusal of the MacDonalds to advance, though there seems to be good reason to believe that they did not act with the vigour that usually characterised them.

P. 80, l 28. **Sir Thomas Sheridan**, an Irish officer who had been the Prince's tutor, and who continued to have great influence over him.

P. 82, l 24. According to Mr. Andrew Lang the "no quarter" order on the part of the Jacobites is a fiction. It does not occur in Lord George Murray's general orders written in his own hand at Culloden, nor in copies still existing, though it was published in the newspapers after the action.

P. 86, l 27. **Fort Augustus**, at the south end of Loch Ness, was built in 1716, but enlarged by General Wade in 1730, and called by him after the Duke of Cumberland.

P. 88, l. 5. **Badenoch**, a district on the upper reaches of the River Spey.

P. 88, l. 10. **Gortuleg**, the castle of one of the Frasers.

P. 88, l 12. **Invergarry**, near Loch Oich in Inverness-shire.

P. 88, l 17. **Glenbousdale**, in the south of Morven, the district north-west of Loch Linnhe. Charles Edward landed on the northern side of the same region.

P. 89, l. 3. **Long Island**, or the Lewis, the largest island of the Outer Hebrides.

P. 89, l. 18. **South Uist**, a smaller island in the same group, lying further south.

P. 90, l. 17. **Kilbride**, in the south of the Isle of Skye, perhaps the wildest island of the Inner Hebrides.

P. 91, l. 11. **Raasay**, a small island between Skye and the Mainland.

P. 92, l. 11. **Strathglass**, the valley of the River Glass in the north-west of Inverness-shire

P. 93, l. 30. **Ben Alder**, a mountain in the south of Inverness-shire, near Loch Ericht "Cluny's Cage" will be known to readers of *Kidnapped* as the scene of some of the adventures of David Balfour and Alan Breck

P. 94, l. 13. **Boradale**, in the south-west of Inverness-shire, on the shore of Loch-na Nuagh.

## GLOSSARY.

The vocabulary of these *Talcs* is studiously simple, and the words given in the glossary are chiefly those used by Scott in an unusual, or semi-obsolete, sense. The first numeral refers to the page, the second to the line in the page.

- accession** (51. 16, 91. 13), complicity in, being accessory to.  
**ague** (37. 16), intermittent fever, with alternate hot and cold fits  
**assume** (11. 15), take up  
**attainder** (4. 18), an Act of Parliament by which a man is pronounced guilty of treason  
**attested** (80. 25), called upon, invoked.  
**automaton** (39. 28), a figure moved by mechanical means.  
**averment** (82. 22), assertion, declaration.  
**boll** (4. 4), a measure used in Scotland, generally six bushels.  
**captious** (21. 16), perplexing, ensnaring  
**cashier** (19. 5), to deprive of a commission, to dismiss.  
**cast out** (46. 23), uttered.  
**chase** (94. 1), a hunting ground.  
**claymore** (79. 3), a Highland broadsword, a rallying cry in battle.  
**commissaries** (74. 28), officers in charge of stores.  
**condition** (11. 5, 46. 17), rank, position  
**conduct** (82. 20), power of leading.  
**constituents** (14. 29), those whose interests he represented  
**crows** (48. 15), crowbars, for raising weights or forcing doors  
**discovered** (4. 1), revealed  
**dogged** (82. 3), followed closely.  
**dressings** (51. 7), drawing up in order.  
**embrasure** (56. 1), an opening through which shots can be fired ;  
a temporary erection containing such openings.

- enfilade** (55. 31), to rake with shot along a whole line.  
**fastness** (10. 10), stronghold  
**flambeau** (49. 19), torch.  
**fusee** (27. 24, 33. 5), musket.  
**fusillade** (82. 20), continuous discharge of fire-arms.  
**gathering** (76. 6), the signal on the pipes by which the members of each clan were called together.  
**ghostly** (49. 8), spiritual  
**grapeshot** (78. 3), small cast-iron bullets strongly fastened together, forming a charge for cannon  
**habit** (23. 7), constitution, temperament.  
**halberd** (47. 28), a combined spear and battle-axe with a long shaft.  
**idle** (7. 27), vain, trifling.  
**importune** (7. 12), to press with repeated and troublesome advice and entreaty.  
**kern** (3. 26), a light-armed Highland foot soldier.  
**links** (49. 19), torches of tow and pith  
**list** (7. 31), please, choose  
**mercenaries** (3. 12), hired soldiers  
**native** (19. 25, 73. 20), inborn.  
**necromantic** (13. 2), magic  
**officiousness** (8. 7), meddling interference.  
**persuasion** (15. 11), way of thinking  
**phalanx** (57. 10), a body of troops in close order.  
**piquets** (79. 22), guards  
**piqueted** (11. 9), fastened to a stake or picket.  
**plantations** (20. 22), colonies.  
**platoon-firing** (82. 19), firing by platoons, or subdivisions of companies  
**polemics** (18. 13), controversies.  
**ports** (47. 7), city gates.  
**priming flask** (58. 23), flask containing the powder put in the pan of old-fashioned firearms.  
**proscription** (14. 8), outlawry  
**quality** (11. 2), rank.  
**regale** (93. 10), treat  
**rendezvous** (25. 12, 47. 25, 88. 7, 88. 1, 23), noun - meeting, place of meeting; also verb intransitive - to meet

sad-coloured (27. 4), dark, sombre.  
 security (52. 11), confidence of safety, false security.  
 specie (62. 3), coined money.  
 sprightly (27. 1), full of spirit.  
 stars (63. 17), fate, destiny.  
 stout (19. 18), strong, resolute.  
 succours (88. 30), reinforcements.  
 target (57. 14, 78. 28), a small round shield.  
 tolbooth (4. 27, 46. 31), prison.  
 uncovered (5. 24), bare-headed.  
 vent (48. 26), opening.  
 waived (74. 22), renounced.

## QUESTIONS.

1. Distinguish clearly between the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant.
2. What is an act of attainder? Why did such procedure often lead to an unjust sentence? Mention any leading men in England who suffered under such acts.
3. Quote some well-known lines written by Montrose, and name other Cavaliers who were also poets.
4. Describe a Conventicle. How far do you consider a Government justified in forbidding such assemblies?
5. What advantages of position had the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, and how did they fail to turn them to account?
6. Why was Dundee so anxious to defend Blair Castle, and why did he permit the enemy to march through the pass unopposed?
7. Describe the Highlanders' mode of fighting, and name as many battles as you can that have been won by their peculiar tactics.
8. In what well-known poems may you read of (a) Dundee's ride out of Edinburgh to rouse the clans, (b) his death at Killiecrankie?
9. What permanent advantage remained with Argyle after the indecisive action at Sheriffmuir?



10. Describe the steps taken by the Porteous rioters to secure themselves from interruption by the authorities.

11. Draw a diagram showing the position of the two armies at the Battle of Prestonpans.

12. Draw a map of Charles Edward's march to Derby, showing all the places of importance through which he passed. Why did he expect to be largely successful in the northern counties of England?

13. Name the pitched battles in which Charles Edward was successful. How do you account for his eventual failure in spite of these successes? Can you name any great commander who frequently suffered defeat and yet was successful in his main object?

14. Find instances in the *Tales* of the superstitious character of the Highlanders, of their simplicity, their impatience of discipline, their strong feeling of clanship.

15. Name the clans that were on the whole Jacobite and those that were on the whole Hanoverian in their sympathies.

16. Draw a map of the basin of the Forth, marking the battle-fields. How is it that they are so numerous in that particular region?

17. Where are the following places, and what are their associations? Philiphaugh, Invercarron, Drumlog, Dunblane, the Grassmarket, Clifton, Culisle, Falkirk, Invergairry, Kilbride, Raasay, Ben Alder, Morlaux.

## SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS.

1. Write an essay on The Ideal Cavalier, and one on The Ideal Puritan.

2. Account for the fact that the same man was execrated by some of his fellow-countrymen as "Bloody Clavers," and idolised by others as "Bonnie Dundee."

3. Discuss the charge of treachery and apostasy against Montrose and against Archbishop Sharp respectively.

4. Compare the Covenanters as they appear in *Old Mortality* and in the *Tales*. Which do you regard as the more just representation?

5. Read a *Waverley* novel, and a modern historical novel dealing with similar characters and incidents, and write your impression of each

6. Compare the character of the two Pretenders. In what father and son of an earlier generation of Stewarts may a similar contrast be noted?

7. Discuss the wisdom of Charles Edward's desire to press on to London from Derby.

8. With the help of a good map plan a tour of fifteen days in Scotland, including as many as possible of the places connected with the adventures of Prince Charlie, and describe your own adventures in the course of the journey.

9. Write an essay on the character of the Highlanders, especially as shown in their dealings with the exiled Stewarts.

## HELPS TO FURTHER STUDY.

1. Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Scott's *Journal* and his *Letters*.

2. R. H. Hutton's *Life of Scott* in the *English Men of Letters Series*; Andrew Lang's *Scott* in *Literary Lives*.

3. Books on Scottish History are numerous. Among recent works may be named Dr. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, and Mr. Andrew Lang's four volumes bearing the same title. The latter is specially full regarding the rising of 1745, and the subject may be studied in fuller detail in the *Life of Prince Charles Edward*, by the same author.

4. It will be found interesting and profitable for young readers to compare Scott's treatment of historical personages and incidents in his imaginative works, with his treatment of them in the *Tales*. Thus the fate of the Stewarts may be traced through a series of the *Waverley Novels*, beginning with the *Fortunes of Nigel*, in which James I. plays a leading part. *The Legend of Montrose* and *Woodstock* may be read for the Civil Wars, *Peveril of the Peak* for the character of Charles II., *Old Mortality* for the Covenanters, *Rob Roy*, *Waverley* and *Redgauntlet* for different phases of the Jacobite movement.

Other writers of prose romance have been attracted by the Stewart story. In *Esmond* Thackeray gives us a brilliant picture of English life in the early part of the eighteenth century,

together with a study of the character of James Francis curiously at variance with the representation of that prince in the *Tales*. In *Kidnapped*, *Catriona* and the *Master of Ballantrae* Stevenson shows us something of Scottish life in the years that followed the last Jacobite rising.

5. Attention ought also to be drawn to the numerous Jacobite songs and ballads, most of them written long after the events they celebrate. In them also it is possible to trace the Stewart story, and while varying greatly in literary merit they are all alike inspired with enthusiasm for a lost cause.



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